

T H E

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C O R N E L I U S T A C I T U S.

THE  
WORKS  
OF  
CORNELIUS TACITUS;

BY  
ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

WITH  
AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;  
NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

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Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque  
ex posteritate et infamiâ metus fit.

TACITUS, Annals, iii. f. 65.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.  
VOL. III.  
OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON

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LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR G. G. J. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.  
MDCCXCIII.

6309

James E. White 72.64.1/p

35,665

June 7, 1859

Y9A981.1 01.01.19

INT 70

001208 70Y110

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.

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BOOK I.





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*These transactions passed in a few months.*

Years of Rome — of Christ

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Consuls.

Servius Galba, 2d time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.



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I. **T**HE æra, from which it is my intention to deduce the following narration, is the second consulship of Servius Galba, when Titus Vinius was his colleague in office. Of the antecedent period, including a space of eight hundred and twenty years (*a*) from the foundation of Rome, the history has been composed by various authors, who, as long as they had before them the transactions (*b*) of the Roman people, dignified their work with eloquence equal to the subject, and a spirit of freedom worthy of the old republic. After the battle of Actium, when, to close the scene of civil distraction, all power and authority were surrendered to a single ruler, the historic character disappeared, and genius died by the same blow that ended public liberty.

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liberty. Truth was reduced to the last gasp, and various circumstances conspired against her. A new constitution took place, undefined, and little understood. Men resigned their rights, and lived like aliens in their native country. Adulation began to spread her baneful influence, and a rooted hatred of their ambitious masters rankled in the breast of numbers. Between both parties, one paying their court, and the other brooding over public injuries, the care of transmitting due information to posterity was utterly lost. It is true, that, against the seductions of the time-serving writer, you may be upon your guard; but, on the other hand, spleen and calumny are devoured with a greedy ear. Flattery wears a badge of servitude, while malignity speaks the tone of independance, and is therefore well received. With regard to the writer of the following work, he can with truth aver, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius were neither known to him by marks of favour, nor by personal injury. The foundation of his fortune (*c*) was laid by Vespasian, advanced by Titus, and carried higher by Domitian. The fact must not be dissembled: but the historian, who enters on his office with a profession of integrity, must not desert the cause of truth. No character should be touched with partiality; none should be disfigured by passion, or resentment. Of Nerva and Trajan (*d*), if my health continues, it is my design to compose the history; it is a favourite plan, rich in materials, and every way safe. I have reserved it for the evening of my days; a glorious period! in which, through the rare felicity of the times, a man may think with freedom, and what he thinks he may publish to the world.

II. THE subject now before me presents a series of great events, and battles fierce and bloody; a portion of time big with intestine divisions, and even the intervals of peace deformed with cruelty and horror: the whole a tragic volume, displaying, in



fucceffion, four princes (*a*) put to death ; three civil wars (*b*) ;  
 with foreign enemies a greater number, and, in fome conjunc-  
 tures, both depending at once ; profperity in the Eaft, difafters in  
 the Weft ; Illyricum thrown into convulfions ; both the Gauls on  
 the eve of a revolt ; Britain (*c*) conquered, and, in the moment  
 of conquest, loft again ; the Sarmatians and the Suevians (*d*)  
 leagued againft the Romans ; the Dacian name ennobled by alter-  
 nate victory and defeat ; and, finally, the Parthians taking the  
 field under the banners of a pretended Nero (*e*). In the courfe  
 of the work, we fhall fee Italy overwhelmed with calamities ; new  
 wounds inflicted, and the old, which time had closed, opened  
 again and bleeding afrefh ; cities sacked by the enemy, or fwal-  
 lowed up by earthquakes (*f*), and the fertile country of Campania  
 made a fcene of defolation ; Rome laid wafte by fire ; her ancient  
 and moft venerable temples fmoking on the ground ; the capitol (*g*)  
 wrapt in flames by the hands of frantic citizens ; the holy cere-  
 monies of religion violated ; adultery reigning without controul ;  
 the adjacent iflands filled with exiles ; rocks and defert places  
 ftained with clandestine murder, and Rome itfelf a theatre of  
 horror ; where nobility of defcent, and fplendour of fortune,  
 marked men out for deftruction ; where the vigour of mind that  
 aimed at civil dignities, and the modefty that declined them,  
 were offences without diftinction ; where virtue was a crime that  
 led to certain ruin ; where the guilt of informers, and the wages  
 of their iniquity, were alike deteftable ; where the facerdotal order,  
 the confular dignity, the government of provinces (*b*) and even  
 the cabinet of the prince, were feized by that execrable race, as  
 their lawful prey ; where nothing was facred, nothing fafe from  
 the hand of rapacity ; where flaves were fuborned, or, by their  
 own malevolence, excited againft their mafters ; where freedmen  
 betrayed their patrons ; and he, who had lived without an  
 enemy (*i*), died by the treachery of a friend.

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III. AND yet this melancholy period, barren as it was of public virtue, produced some examples of truth and honour. Mothers went with their sons into voluntary exile; wives followed the fortune of their husbands; relations stood forth in the cause of their unhappy kindred; sons appeared in defence of their fathers; slaves on the rack gave proofs of their fidelity; eminent citizens, under the hard hand of oppression, were reduced to want and misery, and, even in that distress, retained an unconquered spirit. We shall see others firm to the last, and, in their deaths, nothing inferior to the applauded characters of antiquity. In addition to the misfortunes usual in the course of human transactions, we shall see the earth teeming with prodigies, the sky overcast with omens, thunder rolling with dreadful denunciation, and a variety of prognostics, sometimes auspicious, often big with terror, occasionally uncertain, dark, equivocal, frequently direct and manifest. In a word, the gods never gave such terrible instructions, nor, by the slaughter of armies, made it so clear and evident, that, instead of extending protection (*a*) to the empire, it was their awful pleasure to let fall their vengeance on the crimes of an offending people.

IV. BEFORE we take up the thread of our narrative, it will not be useless to enquire what, in that period, was the state of affairs at Rome, and what the spirit that went forth among her armies; how the provinces stood affected, and wherein consisted the strength or weakness of the empire. By proceeding in this manner, we shall not content ourselves with a bare recital of facts, which are often ascribed to chance; we shall see the spring of each transaction, and a regular chain of causes and effects will be laid open to our view.

The death of Nero, in the first tumult of emotion, was considered



dered as a public blessing; but the senate, the people of Rome, the prætorian guards, and the legions, wherever stationed, were variously affected by that event. A new political secret was then for the first time discovered. It was perceived, that elsewhere than at Rome, an emperor might be invested with the sovereign power. The fathers seized the opportunity, during the absence of a prince, yet new (*a*) to the reins of government, to exercise their ancient rights, pleased with the novelty of freedom, and the resumption of their legislative authority. The Roman knights caught the flame of liberty. Honest men began to entertain hopes of the constitution. Such as stood connected with families of credit, and the various clients and freedmen of illustrious men driven into exile, were all erect with expectation of better times. The inferior populace, who loitered away their time in the theatre and the circus; the slaves of abandoned characters, and the sycophant crew, who, without substance of their own, had been pampered by the vices of Nero; all of that description stood covered with astonishment, yet panting for news, and eagerly swallowing the rumour of the day.

V. THE prætorian guards (*a*) had been, by habit and the obligation of their oath, always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not so much their own inclination, as the management of their leaders. Acting without principle, they now were ready for new commotions. The promise of a donative in the name of Galba was still to be performed. They knew that war is the soldier's harvest. Peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompense due to valour; and the favours of the new prince would be engrossed by the legions, to whom he owed his elevation. Fired by these reflections, and farther instigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus (*b*), their commanding officer,

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officer, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, they began to meditate a second revolution.

The conspiracy was crushed in the bud, and Nymphidius perished in the attempt. But the soldiers had thrown off the mask, and the sense of guilt served only to goad and spur their resolution. They talked of Galba with contempt and ridicule; they laughed at his advanced age; they inveighed against his avarice; and the rigorous discipline (*c*) by which he had acquired his military character, inflamed the prejudices of men, who had been enervated by a long peace of fourteen years. During that time, the dissolute manners of Nero diffused a general corruption, insomuch that the virtues, which formerly gained the affection of the army, were fallen into contempt. Nero was endeared to the soldiers by his vices. Galba, on the contrary, was rendered unpopular by the austerity of his manners. He was used to say, that he chose his soldiers, but never bought them. The maxim was worthy of the old republic, but no man thought it an effusion from the heart. His conduct and his words were too much at variance.

VI. GALBA, being now in the decline of life, resigned himself altogether to Titus Vinius (*a*) and Cornelius Laco; the former the most profligate of men, and the latter despised for his sluggish inactivity. By those pernicious ministers, he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedness of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome (*b*) by slow journeys, in his progress marking his way with blood and cruelty. Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, were, by his orders, put to death; the former, as an accom-

accom-

accomplice in the enterprize of Nymphidius, and the latter, because he had been appointed to command the army under Nero. They were condemned unheard, and, for that reason, thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy.

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Galba's entry (*c*) into the city of Rome, after the massacre of several thousands of unarmed and defenceless soldiers, struck a general panic. The people at large were thrown into consternation, and even the men, who executed the orders of their general, stood astonished at the horrors of the scene. Rome, at that time, was filled with a prodigious body of troops, assembled from various parts of the empire. Besides the forces drawn from the fleet (*d*), and left as a garrison by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To these must be added the (*e*) several companies from Germany, from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been sent forward towards the Caspian streights (*f*), to serve in the war then intended against the Albanians. In a short time afterwards, on the first notice of the revolt excited in Gaul by the turbulent genius of Vindex (*g*), they were all recalled, and the consequence was, that Rome saw within her walls the unusual spectacle of a vast military force. In so large a number of soldiers, not yet devoted to the interest of a single leader, the seed-plots of a new rebellion were prepared, and ready to break out on the first alarm.

VII. It happened, at this point of time, that an account arrived of two murders, committed at a distance from Rome; one of Clodius Macer in Africa, and the other of Fonteius Capito (*a*) in Germany. Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in schemes of ambition, and, in the midst of his projects, was cut off by Trebonius Garrucianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius



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nelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, on a like suspicion of plotting innovations in the state. But the charge against him was by no means clear, nor had the emperor issued his orders. The general opinion was that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors of his destruction, having first endeavoured to draw him into their own designs, combined to execute on an innocent victim the vengeance due to their own iniquity.

Galba, with his usual facility, or, perhaps, wishing to avoid the danger of an enquiry into what could not be recalled, thought it prudent to give his sanction to the acts of his officers, however unjust and cruel. Both executions were, notwithstanding, the subject of public clamour; the usual fate of all unpopular princes: their actions, when the current of the times is set against them, are taken in the gross, and, whether good or evil, condemned without distinction. Venality and corruption were now fully established. The emperor's freedmen engrossed the whole power of the state, and every thing was put up to sale. Even the slaves, in haste to grow rich, and fearing the uncertainty of an old man's life, began to seize their share of the plunder. The new court opened with all the vices of Nero's reign, but without the same apology. The advanced age (*b*) of Galba was a subject of ridicule. Dissipation, at his time of life, excited laughter and contempt. Appearances are the reasons of the populace: they were accustomed to the youthful frolics of Nero, and, in their comparison of princes, elegance of figure and the graces of deportment are decisive qualities.

VIII. SUCH was the posture of affairs at Rome, and such the sentiments that pervaded the mass of the people. With regard to the

the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus (*a*), a man distinguished by his eloquence, and well accomplished in the arts of peace, but of no reputation in war. In both the Gauls, the name of Vindex was still held in veneration; and the people, pleased with their recent admission to the freedom (*b*) of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, shewed no symptoms of disaffection. In those parts, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, the inhabitants of the several cities saw, with discontent, that they were not thought worthy of the like indulgence. Some of them complained that their territories were circumscribed within narrower limits; and, in vulgar minds, the good extended to others was an aggravation of the injury done to themselves.

The legions in Germany did not shew a countenance that promised a perfect calm. The restless temper of the soldiers, by their late victory (*c*) flushed with pride, yet dreading the imputation of having conquered Galba's party, was thrown into violent agitations, by turns inflamed with rage, and overwhelmed with fear. From such a number of soldiers, who had the power of the sword in their own hands, nothing but danger was to be apprehended. They balanced for some time, before they detached themselves from Nero; nor did Verginius, their commanding officer, declare immediately for Galba. Whether that tardy movement was occasioned by his own ambitious projects, cannot now be known. The soldiers, it is certain, made him a tender of the imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius Capito was another cause of discontent. Even such as could not deny the justice of the measure, exclaimed against it with indignation. While the minds of men were thus distracted with contending passions, Galba thought fit, under a shew of friendship, to recall Verginius (*d*) from his post. The legions had now no chief at their head,



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head, and, if the conduct of their general was arraigned, they considered themselves as men involved in the same accusation.

IX. THE legions on the Upper Rhine were ill retained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccus, an officer far advanced in years, without vigour of mind, disabled in his limbs, and, by his infirmities, exposing himself and old age to scorn. Unequal to the command even in quiet times, he was now, in a camp full of bold and turbulent spirits, unable to support his authority. His endeavours to enforce obedience served only to irritate the minds of men disposed to mutiny. On the Lower Rhine, the army had been for some time without a general of consular rank, till Aulus Vitellius (*a*), son of the person of that name who had been censor, and three times consul, was sent by Galba to take upon him the command. This to Galba seemed sufficient, and the Fates (*b*) ordained it.

In Britain every thing was quiet. The legions stationed in that island had no party-divisions to distract them. During the civil wars that followed, they took no part in the contest. Situated at a distance, and divided by the ocean from the rest of the world, they did not catch the epidemic phrensy of the times. They knew no enemies but those of their country, and were not taught by civil discord to hate one another. Illyricum remained in a state of tranquillity, though the legions drawn by Nero from that country found the means, while they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Verginius. But the armies were at distant stations, separated by a long tract of sea or land; and that circumstance proved the best expedient to prevent a combination of the military. They could neither act with a spirit of union, nor, by communicating their vices, spread a general infection through the legions that lay remote from each other.

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X. THE East was hitherto free from commotion. Licinius Mucianus governed the province of Syria with four legions under his command. He was an officer of experience, distinguished, in the early parts of his life, by alternate vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. In his youth the favour of the great was the object of his ambition, and in that pursuit he wasted his fortune. His circumstances growing desperate, and a storm impending from the displeasure of Claudius, he retired into Asia, and there lived in obscurity, as little removed from the state and condition of a real exile, as he was afterwards from the splendour of imperial fortune. He united in his character a rare and wonderful mixture of repugnant qualities. He was affable and arrogant; addicted to pleasure, and by fits and starts a man of business. When at leisure from affairs, he gave a loose to his luxurious passions; if his interest required it, he came upon mankind with superior talents. The minister was praised, and the private man detested. The art of conciliating the good will of others was his in an eminent degree. With his inferiors he knew how to soften authority; to his friends and equals his address was courtly; and yet, with these attractive arts, a man so various was fitter to raise others to the imperial dignity, than to obtain it for himself.

The war against the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Vespasian, who was then in Judæa at the head of three legions. That commander had formed no design, nor even a wish, against the interest of Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome, as will be seen hereafter (*a*), with congratulations to Galba, and assurances of fidelity. It was not then perceived that the sovereign power was destined, by the decrees of Heaven, for Vespasian and his two sons. After his accession, portents and prodigies, and the responses of oracles, were better understood.

XI. ÆGYPT,



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XI. ÆGYPT, and the forces stationed there to bridle the several provinces, were, according to the system established by Augustus, confided to the Roman knights, who exercised all the powers of the ancient kings. In order to keep in subjection a country difficult of access, and at the same time a granary of corn; where the genius of the people (*a*), deeply tinged with superstition, was ever wavering, and prone to change; where there was no plan of regular government, and, by consequence, no respect paid to the civil magistrate; it was the policy of Augustus to retain the administration, like a mystery of state, in his own hands, and under his own cabinet council. In the present juncture (*b*), Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was entrusted with the government of the province.

Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, since the murder of Clodius Macer, grown indifferent to all modes of government. Having experienced the authority of an inferior master, they were willing to submit to any prince. The two Mauritania (*c*), Rætia, Noricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to the care of imperial procurators, had no fixed principle, no hatred, and no affection, but what was inspired by the force nearest at hand. They were always united in opinion with the strongest. The provinces, which were left naked and defenceless, and Italy in particular, were open to the first invader, the ready prey of any conqueror. Such was the situation of the Roman world, when Servius Galba, in his second consulship, and Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; a fatal year, which brought them both to a tragic catastrophe, and the commonwealth to the brink of ruin.

XII. IN a few days after the calends of January, letters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of

Belgic

Belgic Gaul (*a*), with intelligence of a revolt in Upper Germany. The legions in that quarter, disregarding the obligation of their oath, shook off all obedience, and demanded another emperor; willing, however, to soften the violence of their proceedings, and, for that purpose, to leave the choice to the judgment of the senate, and the Roman people. The use that Galba made of this intelligence was, to hasten the adoption of a successor; a point which he had for some time revolved in his mind, and often discussed with his secret advisers. During the few months of his reign, no subject had so much engrossed the public conversation. The people, always politicians, and fond of settling state-affairs, gave a loose to their usual freedom of speech; and, besides, an emperor on the verge of life made it natural to advert to the succession. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connections suggested various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamoured, as their hopes or fears directed. Titus Vinius did not escape the notice of the public. He grew in power every day, and the hatred of the people kept pace with his rising grandeur. In the sudden elevation of Galba, this man and his adherents, with all the creatures of the court, saw their opportunity to enrich themselves with the spoils of their country; and, encouraged as they were by the facility of a weak, a credulous, and superannuated prince, they were resolved to lose no time. In such a period the temptation was great, and guilt might hope to plunder with impunity.

XIII. THE whole sovereign power was in the hands of Titus Vinius, the consul, and Cornelius Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards. A third favourite soon appeared on the political stage, with a degree of influence not inferior to either of the

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former. The name of this man was Icelus (*a*), one of the emperor's freedmen, lately created a Roman knight, and, to suit his new dignity, honoured with the name of Martianus. The three confidential ministers were soon at variance. They clashed in interest, and, in all inferior transactions, drew different ways; but in the choice of a successor they were divided into two factions. Vinius declared for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus joined in opposition to that measure, not so much to favour a friend of their own, as to thwart the designs of a rival. Galba was not to learn the close connection that subsisted between Vinius and Otho. The busy politicians, who love to pry into every thing, and divulge all they know, and all they think, had circulated a report that reached the ear of the emperor. Vinius had a daughter, at that time a widow; Otho was unmarried, and a match between them would make the minister the father-in-law of his future emperor.

Galba resolved to act with caution, and with due regard to the public welfare. He saw the sovereign power wrested out of the hands of Nero, but wrested in vain, if transferred to a man like Otho; a stranger, from his earliest days, to every fair pursuit, and in the prime of manhood distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. It was his taste for luxury and vicious pleasures that first recommended him to the notice of Nero. He lived with his master in all kinds of dissipation, and, in consequence of that connection, became the worthy depositary, to whom the prince entrusted the care of his dearly beloved Poppæa (*b*), till such time as Octavia was, by a divorce, removed out of the way. But Otho's fidelity soon became suspected. Nero's jealousy could not bear a rival. He sent his favourite companion to govern the province of Lusitania, and, under that pretext, banished him from Rome. It is true that Otho, in the course

course of his administration, gained, by his mild and courtly manners, no small degree of popularity. In the late revolution, he was the first to espouse the interest of Galba. While the war lasted, he continued an active partisan, and, by his splendid appearance, did no small credit to the cause. Hence his hopes of being called to the succession. The soldiers favoured his pretensions, and the creatures of Nero's court promised themselves, under a sovereign so nearly resembling their master, a return of the same vices.

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XIV. GALBA saw, with deep anxiety, a storm gathering in Germany, and where it would burst he could not foresee. Of Vitellius and his designs no certain account arrived. The revolt of the legions filled him with apprehensions, and he reposed no confidence in the prætorian guards. The nomination of a successor seemed, in such a crisis, to be the best expedient; and for that purpose he held a cabinet council. Besides Vinus and Laco, he thought proper to summon Marius Celsus, consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, the præfect of the city. Having prefaced the business in a short speech concerning his age and infirmities, he sent for Piso Licinianus (*a*); whether of his own free choice, or at the instigation of Laco, remains uncertain. That minister had lived in friendship with Piso. He contracted an intimacy with him at the house of Rubellius Plautus, though he had now the address to conceal that connection, affecting, with public motives, to recommend a stranger. To this conduct, the fair esteem, in which Piso was held, gave an appearance of sincerity. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scribonia, both of illustrious descent. His aspect was grave, and his deportment formal; such as gave an idea of primitive manners. By the candid and impartial he was called strict and severe; by his enemies, morose and sullen. With great ex-

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cellencies he had a mixture of those qualities that are often the shades of eminent virtue; but those very shades, which seemed to others too dark and gloomy, in the eyes of Galba were the strokes of character, that gave Piso a cast of antiquity, and made him worthy to be the adopted heir to the empire.

XV. GALBA, we are told, taking Piso by the hand, addressed him in the following manner: “ If the adoption which I am now to make, were, like the act of a private citizen, to be acknowledged, as the law *Curia* (*a*) directs, in the presence of the pontiffs, I should derive honour to myself from an alliance with a person descended from the great Pompey and Marcus Craffus: and, in return, you would add to the nobility of your own family the lustre of the Sulpician and Lutatian name. I now address you in a more exalted character. It is the emperor of Rome that speaks. Called by the consent of gods and men to that high station, I am now determined in my choice by your rare accomplishments, and the love I feel for my country. I invite you to the imperial dignity; that dignity for which our ancestors led armies to the field, and which I myself obtained in battle. Without your stir I now make to you a voluntary offer. For this proceeding I have before me the example of Augustus, who associated to himself, first his sister’s son Marcellus, and then Agrippa his son-in-law, his grandsons afterwards, and, finally, Tiberius, the son of his wife. Augustus, indeed, looked for an heir in his own family; I choose in the bosom of the commonwealth. If, upon such an occasion, I could listen to private affection, I have a numerous train of relations, and I have companions in war. But it was not from motives of pride that I accepted the sovereignty of the state: ambition had no share in my conduct. I brought with me to the seat of government an upright

“ upright intention ; and that I now act on the same principle,  
 “ may be fairly seen, when, in my present choice, I postpone  
 “ not only my own relations, but even those of your own fa-  
 “ mily. You have a brother, in point of nobility your equal ;  
 “ by priority of birth your superior ; and, if your merit did not  
 “ supersede him, a man worthy of the highest elevation.

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“ You are now at the time of life, at which the passions sub-  
 “ side. Your former conduct requires no apology. Fortune  
 “ has hitherto (*b*) frowned upon you : you must now beware  
 “ of her smiles. Prosperity tries the human heart with the  
 “ deepest probe, and draws forth the hidden character. We  
 “ struggle with adversity, but success disarms us. I trust, how-  
 “ ever, that you will carry with you, to the highest station, the  
 “ candour of your mind, your good faith, your independent  
 “ spirit, and your constancy in friendship ; virtues that exalt and  
 “ dignify the human character : but the arts of insidious men will  
 “ lay siege to your best qualities, and undermine them all. Diffi-  
 “ culty will deceive you ; flattery will find admission to your  
 “ heart ; and self-interest, the bane of all true affection, will lay  
 “ snares to seduce your integrity. To-day you and I converse  
 “ without disguise, in terms of plain simplicity : how will others  
 “ deal with us ? Their respect will be paid to our fortunes, not  
 “ to ourselves. To talk the language of sincerity to a prince,  
 “ and guide him by honest counsels, is a laborious task : to play  
 “ the hypocrite requires no more than to humour his inclina-  
 “ tions, whatever they are. It is the grimace of friendship : the  
 “ heart has no share in the business.

XVI. “ If the mighty fabric of this great empire could sub-  
 “ sist on any other foundation than that of a monarchy, the  
 “ glory of restoring the old republic should this day be mine.

“ But,



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“ But, at my age, all that remains for me is to bequeath to the  
 “ people an able successor: your youth may give them a vir-  
 “ tuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we  
 “ were all the property of one family. By hereditary right the  
 “ Roman world was theirs. The prince is now elective, and  
 “ the freedom of choice is liberty. The Julian and the Claudian  
 “ race are both extinct, and virtue may now succeed by adop-  
 “ tion. To be born the son of a prince is the result of chance;  
 “ mankind consider it in no higher light. The method of  
 “ adoption allows time to deliberate, and the public voice will  
 “ serve as a guide to direct the judgment of the emperor. Let  
 “ Nero be for ever before your eyes: proud of his long line  
 “ of ancestors, and warm with the blood of the Cæsars, he did  
 “ not fall by the revolt of Vindex, at the head of a province  
 “ naked and disarmed; nor was he deposed by me, who had  
 “ only one legion under my command: his own vices, his own  
 “ cruelty hurled him from his throne, no more to trample on  
 “ the necks of mankind. Of a prince condemned by a public  
 “ sentence, there was till then no example.

“ As to myself, raised as I was by the events of war, and  
 “ called to the sovereignty by the voice of a willing people, I  
 “ know what I have to expect: envy and malice may pursue  
 “ me, but the glory of doing good shall still be mine. After  
 “ the storm that lately shook the empire, you will not wonder  
 “ that a perfect calm has not succeeded; and, if two legions  
 “ waver in their duty, your courage must not be disconcerted.  
 “ My reign did not begin in the halcyon days of peace. Old  
 “ age, at present, is the objection urged against me: but when it  
 “ is known whom I have adopted, I shall appear young in  
 “ my successor. Nero is still regretted by the vile and profligate:  
 “ that good men may not regret him, it will be ours to  
 “ provide

“ provide by our future conduct. More than I have said the  
 “ time will not admit ; if I have made a proper choice, I have  
 “ discharged my duty. One rule, however, there is worthy of  
 “ your consideration. In all questions of good and evil, ask  
 “ yourself, when you was a subject, what did you expect from  
 “ the prince, and what did you wish him to avoid ? It is not at  
 “ Rome, as in despotic governments, where one family towers  
 “ above mankind, and their subjects groan in bondage. You  
 “ are to reign over the Roman people ; a people whom no ex-  
 “ treme will suit ; when in full possession of liberty ; enemies  
 “ to their own happiness ; when reduced to slavery, impatient  
 “ of the yoke.” To this effect Galba delivered himself, little  
 doubting but that he was then creating a prince : the courtiers  
 considered it as a complete legal act, and paid their homage to  
 their future sovereign.

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XVII. DURING the whole of this solemn transaction, Piso, we are told, never lost the even tenor of his mind. From the first moment all eyes were fixed upon him ; yet, on his part, no emotion was seen, no symptom of joy, no surprise, no confusion. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance never betrayed the smallest inward alteration. He behaved with the apathy of a man who deserved to reign, but did not desire it. The next consideration was, in what place the adoption should be announced, in the forum before an assembly of the people, in the senate, or in the camp. The latter was thought most eligible : the army would feel the compliment ; the affections of the soldiers, though of little value, if purchased by bribery and low intrigue, are, notwithstanding, when they are gained by fair and honourable means, always of moment, and never to be neglected. Meanwhile,  
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the populace rushing in crowds from every quarter, surrounded the palace, burning with impatience for the important news, and growing still more eager, in proportion to the delay of the profound politicians, who affected an air of mystery, when the secret had already transpired.

XVIII. ON the fourth of the ides of January the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, accompanied with heavy rains, thunder and lightning, and all the uproar of the elements, which usually alarms the superstition of the multitude. In ancient times this phenomenon would have been sufficient (*a*) to dissolve all public assemblies: but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpose. He proceeded to the camp, regardless of prodigies, which he considered as the effect of natural causes; or, it may be, that what is fixed by fate cannot by human prudence be avoided. A vast conflux of soldiers assembled in the camp. Galba addressed them in a short speech, such as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Augustus, and the practice of the army, where each soldier chooses his companion in war (*b*), he had adopted Piso for his son. Fearing that his silence on the subject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to tumult and disorder; but their violence went no further than words, and he had no doubt but they would soon be sensible of their error. Such was his plain and manly language. He added no flattering expressions, no soothing hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithstanding, and the centurions and soldiers, who stood nearest to his person, raised a shout of approbation. Through the rest of the lines a deep and fullen silence prevailed. The men saw, with discontent, that, on the eve of a war, they were deprived of those gratuities,

gratuities, which had been granted in time of peace, and were now become the soldier's right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to secure the affections of the soldiers. From a parsimonious old man the smallest mark of liberality would have made an impression. But in an age that could no longer bear the virtues of the old republic, rigid œconomy was out of season, and, by consequence, the worst of policy.

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XIX. FROM the camp Galba proceeded to the senate. His speech, like that to the soldiers, was short, unadorned, and simple. Piso delivered himself with grace and elegance. The fathers heard him with attention; some with real affection, and others, who in their hearts opposed his interest, with overacted zeal; while the neutral and indifferent (by far the greatest number) made a tender of their services, all with private views, regardless of their country. This was the only public act in which Piso appeared. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) he neither said nor did any thing that merits the attention of history.

Affairs in Germany began to wear a gloomy aspect. Messengers upon the heels of one another came posting to Rome; and in a city, where men stood athirst for news, and swallowed the worst with avidity, nothing was seen but hurry and confusion. The fathers resolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a secret council it was proposed that Piso should set out at the head of the embassy, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the senate, and the majesty of the empire. It was further thought advisable that Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards, should accompany the deputation; but he declined the office. Nor was the choice of the ambassadors easily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's  
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judgment, and he executed it with caprice and shameful indecision. Men were appointed, and removed; others were substituted, and changed again; some excused themselves; numbers, as fear or ambition prompted, made interest for the preference, or for permission to remain at home.

XX. THE means of raising money came next under consideration. Various expedients were proposed, but none appeared so just as that of making reprisals on such, as by their rapacity impoverished the commonwealth. Nero had lavished in pensions and donations above two-and-twenty million of sesterces. The men who had enriched themselves by this wild profusion, were allowed to retain a tenth part (*a*) of the plunder, and condemned to refund the rest. But their tenth part was no longer in their possession. Prodigal no less of the public money than of their own, they had squandered all in riot and debauchery. They had neither lands, nor funds of any kind. The wreck of their fortunes consisted of little more than the utensils of luxury, vice, and folly. To enforce a resumption of all enormous grants, a court of commissioners was established, consisting of thirty Roman knights. This tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and still more so for its number of officers, and the spirit of cabal that prevailed in every part of the business, was found vexatious and oppressive. The auctioneer planted his staff in every street; the public crier was heard; sales and confiscations were seen; a general ferment spread through the city. And yet this scene of distress was beheld with pleasure. The men, who had been pillaged by Nero, saw the minions of that emperor reduced to a level with themselves. About the same time several tribunes were discharged from the service. In that number were Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso, both of the prætorian guards; Æmilius Pacensis, from the city cohorts, and

and Julius Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, so far from being a remedy, served only to alarm and irritate the rest of the officers. They concluded that all were equally suspected, and that a timid court, not daring at once to go the length of its resentment, would proceed to cull them out man by man.

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XXI. OTHO, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but despair; trouble and confusion were his only source of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince (*a*), and his fortune was sunk to the lowest ebb, below the condition of a private man. He hated Galba, and he saw Piso with an eye of envy. To these incentives he added real or imaginary fears for his own personal safety, and in those fears he found new motives for rebellion. "He had felt the weight of Nero's displeasure; and must he now wait for a second Lusitania? Was he to expect, under colour of friendship, another honourable banishment? The man, whom the public voice has named for the succession, is sure to be suspected by the reigning prince. It was that jealousy that ruined his interest with a superannuated emperor; and the same narrow motive would act with greater force on the mind of a young man (*b*), by nature harsh, and in his exile grown fierce and savage. Otho was, perhaps, already doomed to destruction. But the authority of Galba was on the decline, and that of Piso not yet established. This was, therefore, the time to strike a sudden blow. The convulsion of states, and the change of masters, afford the true season for courage and vigorous enterprise. In such a period, when inactivity is certain ruin, and bold temerity may be crowned with success, to linger in doubt, might be the ruin of his cause. To die is the common lot of humanity. In the grave, the only distinction lies between those, who leave no trace behind, and the heroic spirits, who trans-



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“ mit their names to posterity. And since the same end awaits  
 “ alike the guilty and the innocent, the man of enterprise will  
 “ provoke his fate, and close the scene with glory.”

XXII. THE mind of Otho was not, like his body (*a*), soft and effeminate. His slaves and freedmen lived in a course of luxury, unknown to private families. They flattered their master's taste; they painted to him in lively colours the joys of Nero's court, and the perpetual round of gay delights, in which he had passed his days; they represented to him adultery without controul, the choice of wives and concubines, and scenes of revelry scarcely known to Asiatic princes. These, if he dared nobly, they represented to him as his own; if he remained inactive, as the prize of others. The judicial astrologers added a spur to inflame his ardour. They announced great events, and to Otho a year of glory. Society has, perhaps, never known a more dangerous pest than this race of impostors, who have been ever ready, with vile insinuations, to poison the hearts of princes, and to stimulate ambition to its ruin; a set of perfidious men, proscribed by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cherished in such a city as Rome.

It was with this crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held consultations, when she aspired to the imperial bed. It happened that one of these pretenders to præternatural knowledge, a man of the name of Ptolemy, accompanied Otho into Spain. He had there foretold that Otho would survive the reign of Nero; and, the event giving credit to his art, he took upon him to promise greater things. He saw Galba on the verge of life, and Otho in the vigour of his days. From that circumstance, and the currents of popular rumour, that filled the city of Rome, this man drew his conjectures, and ventured to announce Otho's elevation to the imperial dignity. These bodings were welcome to the ear of  
 Otho :

Otho : he considered them as the effect of science, and believed the whole, with that credulity, which, in a mind inflamed with ambition, stands ready to receive the marvellous for reality. From this time, Ptolemy was the chief actor in the dark scenes that followed. He inspired the plan of treason, and Otho embraced it with impetuous ardour. The heart, that has formed the wish, and conceived the project, has seldom any scruple about the means.

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XXIII. WHETHER this bold conspiracy was then first imagined, or prepared and settled long before, cannot now be known. It is, however, certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, and this, either with a view of being called to the succession, or, if not, with a design to seize it by force. He omitted no opportunity to ingratiate himself with the common men ; on their march, in the lines, at their quarters, he made it his business to converse freely with all ; he accosted the veterans by name, and, remembering their service under Nero, called them his brother-soldiers ; he renewed his acquaintance with some ; he enquired after others, and with his interest and his purse was ready to be their friend. In these discourses he took care to mingle complaints, and, with half-hinted malignity, to glance at Galba. He omitted nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with discontent. The soldiers were prepared to receive the worst impressions. Fatiguing marches, provisions ill supplied, and a plan of rigorous discipline lately revived, turned their hearts against the reigning prince. They had known gentler times, when, at their ease, they traversed the lakes of Campania, and went on sailing parties to the cities of Achaia ; but now the scene was changed to the Alps, the Pyrenéans, and long tracts of country, where they were to march under a load of armour scarce supportable.



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XXIV. WHILE the minds of the soldiers were, by these means, thrown into violent agitations, Mævius Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, added fuel to the flame. Whoever was known to be of a light and versatile disposition, in distress for money, or fond of public commotions, this man attracted to his party. He slipped his way with a degree of dexterity, as unperceived as it was successful. As often as Galba was entertained at Otho's house, he distributed to the cohort on duty a hundred sesterces for every man, under colour of an allowance for their usual convivial party. This generosity, which passed under the name of a largess, was increased by the secret, but well applied, bribery of Otho; who became at last a corruptor so bold and open, that, when Cocceius Proculus, a soldier of the body-guard, was engaged in a litigation with one of his neighbours about the boundaries of their respective grounds, Otho bought the whole estate of the adverse party, and conveyed it to the soldier as a present. And yet these practices gave no jealousy to the commander of the prætorian bands. To penetrate dark transactions was so far from being his talent, that he could not see what escaped no eye but his own.

XXV. OTHO took into his councils one of his freedmen, by name Onomastus. This man was chosen to conduct the enterprise. He selected for his accomplices, Barbis Proculus, whose duty it was to bear the watch-word to the night-guard, and one Veturius, his chosen assistant. Otho sounded them apart; and finding them fit instruments for his purposes, subtle, dark, and resolute, he loaded them both with presents, and dismissed them with a sum of money, to be employed in bribing the rest of the guards. In this manner, two soldiers undertook to dispose of the Roman empire, and what they undertook, they dared to execute. A few only were conscious of the plot. The rest, though held in suspense,

suspense, were managed with such dexterity, that they stood in readiness, as soon as the blow was struck, to second the conspirators. The soldiers of note were told, that having been distinguished by Nymphidius, they lived in danger, suspected, and exposed to the resentment of Galba. The loss of the donative, so often promised, and still withheld, was the topic enforced, to irritate the minds of the common men. Numbers lamented the loss of Nero, and the agreeable vices of that dissolute reign. All were averse from the new plan of discipline, and the idea of a further reform diffused a general terror.

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XXVI. THE spirit of disaffection spread, as it were by contagion, to the legions and the auxiliary troops, all sufficiently agitated by the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were ready for any mischief, and among the few of sober conduct, inactivity was no better than treason in disguise. The conspirators saw their advantage, insomuch that, on the day ensuing the ides of January, they formed a resolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from supper, and, without further delay, proclaim him emperor. This project, however, did not take effect. In the darkness of the night, and the confusion inseparable from it, no man could answer for the consequences. The city was full of soldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted measure, could be expected. The traitors desisted from their purpose, but with no public motive. The general welfare made no impression on men, who had conspired to imbrue their hands in the blood of their sovereign. What they chiefly feared was, that the first who offered himself to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by those strangers, and in the tumult of the dark, be mistaken for Otho, and saluted by the title of emperor. The plot, thus checked for the present, began to transpire, and must have been by various circumstances brought

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to light, had not the chief conspirators laboured to suppress all appearances of lurking treason. Some facts, however, reached the ears of Galba; but the folly of Laco explained every thing away, and, by consequence, the emperor was lulled into security. The præfect of the guards had no knowledge of the military character. Nothing could open the eyes of a man, who opposed every measure, however excellent, which did not originate with himself. By the perversity of his nature, he was always at variance with talents and superior judgment.

XXVII. ON the eighteenth day before the calends of February, Galba assisted at a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo. In the midst of the ceremony, Umbricius the augur, after inspecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treason, and a lurking enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who stood near the emperor, heard this prediction, but interpreted it in his own favour, pleased with omens that promised so well to his cause. In that moment, Onomastus came to inform him, that his builders and surveyors were waiting to talk with him on business. This, as had been concerted, was a signal, that the conspirators were ready to throw off the mask, and strike the decisive blow. Otho quitted the temple, having first told such as wondered at his sudden departure, that, being on the point of purchasing certain farm-houses, not in good repair, he had appointed workmen to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain. Having made that feigned excuse, he walked off, arm in arm, with his freedman; and, passing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went directly to the great market-place, called the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-pillar (*a*) near the temple of Saturn. At that place a small party of the prætorian soldiers, in number not exceeding three-and-twenty, saluted him emperor. The sight of such an

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insignificant handful of men struck him with dismay; but his partisans drew their swords, and placing him in a litter (*b*), carried him off in triumph. They were joined in their way by an equal number, some of them accomplices in the treason; others, in wonder and astonishment, hurried along by the current. The conspirators, brandishing their swords, and rending the air with acclamations, pursued their course, while numbers followed in profound silence, determined to see the issue before they took a decided part.

XXVIII. JULIUS MARTIALIS, a military tribune, was at that time commanding officer in the camp. Amazed at a treason so bold and daring, and perhaps imagining that it extended wider, he made no attempt to oppose the torrent. His inactivity had the appearance of a confederacy in guilt. The rest of the tribunes and centurions followed the same line of caution, in their solicitude for their own safety losing all sense of honour and of every public principle. Such, in that alarming crisis, was the disposition of the camp: a few seditious incendiaries dared to attempt a revolution; more wished to see it, and all were willing to acquiesce.

XXIX. GALBA, in the mean time, ignorant of all that passed, continued in the temple, attentive to the sacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing the gods of an empire now no longer his. Intelligence, at length, arrived that a senator (who by name no man could tell) was carried in triumph to the camp. Otho was soon after announced. The people in crowds rushed forward from every quarter, some representing the danger greater than it was, others lessening it, and, even in ruin, still retaining their habitual flattery. A council was called. After due deliberation, it was thought advisable to sound the dispositions



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fitions of the cohort then on duty before the palace, but without the interposition of Galba. His authority was to be reserved for the last extremity. Piso called the men together, and, from the steps of the palace, addressed them to the following purport:

“ It is now, my fellow soldiers, the sixth day since I was made  
 “ by adoption presumptive heir to this great empire. Whether  
 “ I was called to a post of honour, or of danger, was more than  
 “ I could then foresee. The offer was honourable, and I ac-  
 “ cepted it; with what advantage to my own family in parti-  
 “ cular, or to the commonwealth at large, it will be yours to  
 “ determine. For myself, I have nothing to fear. Trained  
 “ in the school of adversity, I now perceive that the smiles are  
 “ no less dreadful than the frowns of fortune. But for myself  
 “ I feel no concern: I feel for the situation of an aged father;  
 “ I feel for the senate; I feel for my country. The lot of all  
 “ three will be grievous, whether we fall this day by the hands  
 “ of assassins, or, which to a generous mind is no less afflicting,  
 “ find ourselves obliged to shed the blood of our fellow citi-  
 “ zens. In the late revolution, it was matter of joy to all good  
 “ men, that the city was not discoloured with Roman blood,  
 “ and that, without civil discord, the reins of government  
 “ passed into other hands. To secure the same tranquillity  
 “ was the object of the late adoption. By that measure, Galba  
 “ had reason to think that he closed the scene of war and civil  
 “ commotion.

XXX. “ I WILL neither mention the nobility of my birth,  
 “ nor claim the merit of moderation. I arrogate nothing to  
 “ myself. In opposition to Otho there is no necessity to call  
 “ our virtues to our aid. The vices of the man, even then,  
 “ when he was the friend, or rather the pander of Nero, were  
 “ the ruin of his country. In those vices he places all his glory.

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“ And shall a life of debauchery, shall that effeminate air, and  
 “ that soft solicitude (*a*) for gay apparel, give an emperor to the  
 “ Roman world? They, who suffer profusion to pass for libe-  
 “ rality, will in time perceive their error. Otho may squander,  
 “ but to bestow is not in his character. What think you are  
 “ the objects that now engross his thoughts? What are his  
 “ views? What does he aim at? Scenes of luxury, lawless gra-  
 “ tifications, carousing festivals, and the embraces of lascivious  
 “ women, are the imaginations of his heart. These with him  
 “ are imperial pleasures, the rights of sovereignty. The joy  
 “ will be his: it will be yours to blush for your new master.  
 “ In the whole catalogue of those daring usurpers, who by their  
 “ crimes have risen to power, is there an instance of one who  
 “ made atonement by his virtues? Is there a man who gained  
 “ an empire by iniquity, and governed it with moderation?

“ Galba was raised by the voice of a willing people to his  
 “ present situation: his inclination, and your consent, have added  
 “ me to the line of the Cæsars. But after all, if the common-  
 “ wealth, the senate, and the people, are no better than mere  
 “ empty names, yet let me ask you, my fellow soldiers, will  
 “ you suffer a lawless crew to overturn the government? From  
 “ the worst and most abandoned of mankind will you receive  
 “ an emperor? The legions, it is true, have at different times  
 “ mutinied against their generals; but your fidelity has never  
 “ been questioned. Nero abdicated; you did not desert him.  
 “ He fell without your treachery. And shall thirty ruffians—  
 “ thirty did I say? Their number is less. Shall a wretched hand-  
 “ full of vile conspirators, whom no man would suffer to vote  
 “ in the choice of a tribune or centurion, dispose of the Roman  
 “ empire at their will and pleasure? Will you establish such a  
 “ precedent? And, by establishing it, will you become accom-



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“ plices in the guilt? The example will pass into the provinces;  
 “ confusion and anarchy will be the fatal consequence; Galba  
 “ may fall, and I may perish with him; but the calamities of a  
 “ civil war must remain for you. By murdering your prince  
 “ you may earn the wages of iniquity; but the reward of virtue  
 “ will not be less. Judge which is best, a donative for your  
 “ innocence, or a largess for murder and rebellion.”

XXXI. DURING this harangue, the soldiers belonging to the guard withdrew from the place. The rest of the cohort shewed no sign of discontent. Without noise or tumult, the usual incidents of sedition, they displayed their colours according to the military custom, and not, as was imagined afterwards, with a design to cover, by false appearances, a settled plan of treachery and revolt. Celsus Marius was sent to use his influence with the forces from Illyrium, at that time encamped under the portico of Vipsanius (*a*). Orders were likewise given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, two centurions of the first rank, to draw from the temple of Liberty the German soldiers, quartered in that place. The legion, draughted from the marines, was not to be trusted. They had seen, on Galba's entry into Rome, a cruel massacre of their comrades, and the survivors, with minds exasperated, panted for revenge. At the same time, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three military tribunes, made the best of their way to the prætorian camp, with an intention, while the ferment was still recent, and before a general flame was kindled, to mould the minds of the men to a pacific temper. Subrius and Cetrius were repulsed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The soldiers took away his weapons, unwilling to listen to a man, whom they considered as an officer promoted out of his turn, by the favour of Galba, and, for that reason, faithful to his prince. The ma-  
 rine

rine legion, without hesitation, joined the prætorian malecontents. The detachment from the Illyrian army caught the infection, and obliged Celsus to retire under a shower of darts. The veterans from Germany remained for some time in suspense. They had been sent by Nero to Alexandria; but, being recalled in a short time afterwards, they returned to Rome in a distressed condition, worn out with toil, and weakened by sickness during their voyage. Galba attended to their wants, and, in order to recruit their strength, administered seasonable relief. The soldiers felt the generosity of the prince, and gratitude was not yet effaced from their minds.

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XXXII. THE populace, in the mean time, with a crowd of slaves intermixed, rushed into the palace, demanding vengeance on the head of Otho, and his partisans. The clamour was loud and dissonant, like that of a rabble in the circus or amphitheatre, roaring for the public sports, or some new spectacle. The whole was conducted without principle, without judgment, or sincerity; and, before the close of day, the same mouths were open to bawl for the reverse of what they desired in the morning. To be ready with shouts and vociferation, let who will be the reigning prince, has been in all ages the zeal of the vulgar. Galba, in the mean time, balanced between two opposite opinions. Titus Vinius was for his remaining in the palace. “The slaves,” he said, “might be armed, and all the avenues secured. The prince should by no means expose himself to a frantic mob. Due time should be allowed for the seditious to repent, and for good men to form a plan of union, and concert their measures. Crimes succeed by hurry and sudden dispatch: honest counsels gain vigour by delay. Should it be hereafter proper to rally forth, that expedient would be still in reserve; but if once hazarded, the error would be seen too late.



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“late. The prince, in that case, would be in the power of his  
“enemies.”

XXXIII. It was argued on the other hand, “that the exi-  
“gence called for vigorous measures. Before the conspiracy of  
“a few traitors gained an accession of strength, one brave exer-  
“tion might prove decisive. Confront the danger, and Otho  
“will shrink back with terror and dismay. It is not long since  
“he went forth by stealth. He has been joined by a few in-  
“cendiaries, and hurried away to a camp, where no plan is  
“settled; but now, while Galba’s friends remain inactive, he  
“assumes the sovereign, and has time to learn how to play his  
“part. And shall we linger here in cold debate, till the usurper,  
“having mastered the camp, comes forth to invade the forum,  
“and, under the eye of a lawful prince, ascends the capitol?  
“In the mean time, must our valiant emperor remain trembling  
“in his palace, while his warlike friends barricade the doors,  
“preparing, with heroic resolution, to stand a siege? But, it  
“seems, the slaves are to be armed; and they, no doubt, will  
“render effectual service, especially if we neglect the people now  
“ready to support our cause, and suffer their indignation to  
“evaporate without striking a blow. What is dishonourable is  
“always dangerous. If we must fall, let us bravely meet our  
“fate. Mankind will applaud our valour, and Otho, the author  
“of our ruin, will be the object of public detestation.” Vinius  
maintained his former opinion. Laco opposed him with warmth,  
and even with violent menaces. In this Icelus was the secret  
prompter. That favourite hated the consul, and, in a moment  
big with danger, chose to gratify a little and a narrow spirit at  
the expence of the emperor and the public.

XXXIV. GALBA adopted what appeared to him the most  
specious

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specious and most prudent advice. Piso, notwithstanding, was sent forward to the camp. The presence of a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the first honours of the state, might give a turn to the passions of the army. He was besides considered as the enemy of Vinus. If, in fact, he did not hate him, the enemies of the minister wished it, and malice, imputed to the mind of man, is easily believed to be a natural passion. Piso was hardly gone forth, when a rumour prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp. The report at first was vague and uncertain, but, like all important lies, gathered as it went, and grew into credit. It was confirmed by men, who averred that they were eye-witnesses on the spot, and saw the blow given. The tale was welcome to a great many, and the credulous swallowed it without further enquiry. It was afterwards thought to be a political lie, framed by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd in order to entice Galba from his palace.

XXXV. THE city resounded with acclamations. Not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were transported beyond all bounds, but the knights and senators were hurried away with the torrent; they forgot their fears; they rushed to the emperor's presence; they complained that the punishment of treason was taken out of their hands. The men, who, as it appeared soon after, were the most likely to shrink from danger, displayed their zeal with ostentation; lavish of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was slain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this situation, wanting certain intelligence, but deceived by his courtiers, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armour. The weight was too much for his feeble frame, and, in the throng that gathered round him, finding himself overpowered, he desired to be placed in a litter. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, a soldier of the body guard,



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guard accosted him with a bloody sword in his hand, crying aloud, "In me you see the slayer of Otho: it was I that killed him." Galba calmly answered (*a*), Who gave you orders? Such was the spirit of the man, even in the last extremity, still determined to repress the licentiousness of the soldiers; by their insolence undismayed, by their flattery never softened.

XXXVI. MEANWHILE, the prætorian guards threw off the mask, and with one voice declared for Otho. They ranged themselves in a body round his person, and, in the ardour of their zeal, placed him, amidst the standards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a little before, stood the golden statue (*a*) of Galba. The tribunes and centurions were not suffered to approach. The common soldiers, having no kind of confidence in their officers, gave the word to watch the motions of all in any rank or command. The camp resounded with shouts and mutual exhortations, not with that faint-hearted zeal which draws from the mob of Rome their feeble acclamations, but with one mind, one general impulse, all concurred in support of their new emperor. The prætorians were almost frantic with joy. They embraced their comrades as they saw them advancing forward; they clasped their hands; they led them to the tribunal; they repeated the military oath (*b*), and administered it to all. They recommended the prince of their own choice to the affections of the men, and the men, in their turn, to the favour of the prince. Otho, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the affections of the multitude. He paid his court to the rabble with his hands outstretched, bowing lowly down, and, in order to be emperor, crouching like a slave. The marine legion did not hesitate to take the oath of fidelity. By that event Otho felt himself inspired with uncommon ardour. Having hitherto tampered with the soldiers man by man, he

judged

judged right to address them in a body. He took his station on the rampart of the camp, and spoke to the following effect :

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XXXVII. " IN what light, my fellow soldiers, shall I now  
 " consider myself? In what character must I address you? A  
 " private man I cannot call myself, for you have bestowed upon  
 " me the title of prince: but can I assume that title, while ano-  
 " ther is still in possession of the sovereign power? In what de-  
 " scription you yourselves are to be classed, is to me matter of  
 " doubt; and must remain so, till the question is decided, Whe-  
 " ther you have in your camp the emperor of Rome, or a  
 " public enemy? You have heard the cry that has gone forth:  
 " the same voice that demands vengeance on me, calls aloud  
 " for your destruction. With my life your fate is interwoven.  
 " We must live or perish together. There is no alternative.  
 " The humanity of Galba is well known to us all. Perhaps,  
 " even while I speak, he has pronounced our doom. To yield  
 " to the advice of his friends, will be an easy task to him, who  
 " without a request, of his own free will, in cold blood, could  
 " give to the edge of the sword so many thousand innocent sol-  
 " diers, all destroyed in one inhuman massacre. My heart re-  
 " coils with horror, when I reflect on the disastrous day, when  
 " he made his public entry into the city. After receiving the  
 " submission of the soldiers, with unheard-of treachery he or-  
 " dered the whole body to be decimated (*a*); and, in the view  
 " of the people, exhibited a scene of blood and horror. These  
 " are the exploits of Galba, and this his only victory. With  
 " these inauspicious omens he entered the city of Rome, and  
 " what has been since the glory of his reign? Obultronus Sa-  
 " binus and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in Spain;  
 " Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in Germany; and  
 " Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to these Cingonius Varro,  
 VOL. III. G " butchered



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“ butchered on his march, Turpilianus in the heart of the city,  
 “ and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there  
 “ in any part of the empire a single camp, which he has not  
 “ defiled with blood? This, he will tell you, is a reform of the  
 “ army. In his language, murder is a legal remedy: what  
 “ all good men agree to call a deed of barbarity, passes with  
 “ him for a correction of abuses. Under specious names he  
 “ confounds the nature of things: cruelty is justice, avarice is  
 “ œconomy, and massacre is military discipline. Since the death  
 “ of Nero, not more than seven months have elapsed; and, in  
 “ that time, Icelus his freedman has amassed, by plunder, more  
 “ enormous wealth, than the Polycleti (*b*), the Vatinii, the Elii,  
 “ and the Haloti were able to do in the whole course of that  
 “ emperor’s reign. Even Titus Vinius, if he himself had seized  
 “ the empire, would have had the grace to blush at such enor-  
 “ mities; nor should we have groaned under such a load of op-  
 “ pression. Though no higher than a private citizen, he plun-  
 “ ders without remorse; he seizes our property, as if we were  
 “ his slaves; and he despises us as the servants of another  
 “ master. His house alone (*c*) contains wealth sufficient to dis-  
 “ charge the donative every day promised, but promised merely  
 “ to insult you.

XXXVIII. “ THAT your hopes of better times may never  
 “ succeed, Galba has taken care, by his choice of a successor,  
 “ to entail upon you endless misery. He has adopted a man,  
 “ from whom you can have nothing to expect; a man recalled  
 “ from banishment, in his temper dark and gloomy, hardened  
 “ in avarice, the counterpart of the emperor himself. You re-  
 “ member, my fellow soldiers, the day on which that adoption  
 “ was made; a day deformed with storms and tempests, when  
 “ the warring elements announced the awful displeasure of the  
 “ gods.

“ gods. The senate and the people are now of one mind.  
 “ They depend upon your valour. It is your generous ardour  
 “ that must give vigour and energy to our present enterprise.  
 “ Without your aid, the best designs must prove abortive. It  
 “ is not to a war, nor even to danger, that I am now to conduct  
 “ you: the armies of Rome are on our side. The single cohort  
 “ remaining with Galba is composed of citizens, not of soldiers;  
 “ they are gowned, not armed; they do not stand forth in his  
 “ defence; they detain him as their prisoner. When they see  
 “ you advancing in firm array, and when my signal is given,  
 “ the only struggle will be, who shall espouse my cause with  
 “ the greatest ardour. The time forbids all dull delay: we have  
 “ undertaken bravely, but it is the issue that must justify the  
 “ measure, and crown us with applause.” Having closed his  
 harangue, he ordered the magazine of arms to be thrown open.  
 The soldiers seized their weapons; they paid no regard to mili-  
 tary rules; no distinction was observed; the prætorians, the  
 legions, and the auxiliaries crowded together, and shields and  
 helmets were snatched up in a tumultuary manner. No tribune,  
 no centurion was allowed to give orders. Each man was his  
 own commanding officer, while the friends of discipline stood  
 astonished at the scene of wild confusion. The evil-minded saw  
 with pleasure that the regulars were offended, and in that sen-  
 timent found a new motive to increase the disorder.

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XXXIX. THE number of the rebels increased every moment,  
 and their noise and clamour reached the city of Rome. Piso  
 did not think it advisable to proceed to the camp. He met  
 Galba, who had left the palace, on his way to the forum. Ma-  
 rius Celsus had already brought alarming tidings. Some advised  
 the emperor to return to his palace; others were for taking  
 possession of the capitol, and the major part for proceeding di-



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rectly to the tribunal of public harangues: numbers gave their advice, for no better reason than to clash with the opinions of others; and, in the distraction of jarring counsels, the misfortune was, that what ought to have occurred first, was seen too late. They decided when the opportunity was lost. We are told that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a design against the life of Vinius. The murder of that minister, he thought, would appease the fury of the foldiers, or it may be that he suspected treachery, and thought him joined in a secret league with Otho: perhaps his own malice was the motive. But for this dark purpose neither the time nor the place was convenient: the sword once drawn, there was no knowing where the scene of blood would end. Messengers arriving every moment increased the consternation; the spirit of Galba's friends began to droop; numbers deserted him; and of all that zeal, which a little before blazed out with so much ardour, every spark was now extinguished.

XL. GALBA, in the midst of a prodigious conflux of people, had not strength to support himself; and, as the waving multitude was impelled different ways, he was hurried on by the torrent. The temples, the porticos, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of gazing spectators. The whole presented an awful spectacle. A deep and sullen silence prevailed. The very rabble was hushed. Amazement sat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every sound. The interval was big with terror; it was neither a tumult, nor a settled calm, but rather the stillness of fear, or smothered rage, such as often precedes some dreadful calamity. Otho was still in the camp. He received intelligence that the populace had recourse to arms, and thereupon ordered his troops to push forward with rapidity, and prevent the impending dan-

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ger. At his command the Roman soldiers, as if marching to dethrone an eastern monarch, a Vologeses, or a Pacorus, and not their own lawful sovereign, advanced with impetuous fury to imbrue their hands in the blood of an old man, naked and disarmed. They entered the city; they dispersed the common people; they spurred their horses at full speed, and, rushing into the forum sword in hand, trampled the senators under foot. The sight of the capitol made no impression; the temples, sanctified by the religion of ages, could not restrain their fury; for the majesty of former princes they had no respect, and of those who were to succeed, no kind of dread. They rushed forward to commit a detestable parricide, forgetting, in their frantic rage, that crimes of that atrocious nature are sure to be punished by the prince that succeeds to the sovereign power.

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XLI. THE prætorians no sooner appeared in fight, than the standard-bearer of the cohort still remaining with Galba (his name, we are told, was Attilius Vergilio) tore from the colours the image of Galba, and dashed it on the ground. That signal given, the soldiers, with one voice, declared for Otho. The people fled in consternation. Such as lingered behind were attacked sword in hand. The men, who carried Galba in a litter, were struck with terror. In their fright they let him fall to the ground near the Curtian lake (*a*). His last words, according as men admired or hated him, have been variously reported. According to some, he asked, in a suppliant tone, What harm he had done? and prayed for a few days, that he might discharge the donative due to the soldiers. Others assure us, that he presented his neck to the assassin's stroke, and said with a firm tone of voice, "Strike, if the good of the common-wealth requires it." To ruffians thirsting for blood no matter what he said. By what hand the blow was given cannot now be



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be known. Some impute it to Terentius, a resumed veteran; others, to a fellow of the name of Lecanius. A report still more general has transmitted down to us the name of Camurius, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion. This man, it is said, cut Galba's throat. The rest fell on with brutal rage, and, finding his breast covered with armour, dismembered his legs and arms. Nor did the barbarians desist, till the emperor lay a headless trunk, deformed with wounds, and weltering in his blood.

XLII. TITUS VINIUS was the next victim. The manner in which he met his fate is likewise left uncertain. Whether on the first assault his utterance was suppressed by fear, or whether he had power to call out, that Otho had given no orders against his life, we have now no means of knowing. Those words, if really spoken, might be an effort of pusillanimity to save his life, or they were the confession of a man, who was actually an accomplice in the conspiracy. His life and manners leave no room to doubt but he was capable of joining in a parricide, of which his own administration (*a*) was the principal cause. He fell by a wound that shattered the joint of his knee, and, as he lay stretched in that condition, he was run through the body by Julius Carus, a legionary soldier. He expired before the temple of Julius Cæsar.

XLIII. WHILE the rebels were acting their horrible tragedy, the age beheld, in the conduct of one man, a splendid example of courage and fidelity. Sempronius Densus was the person; a centurion of the prætorian cohort. Having been ordered by Galba to join the guard that escorted Piso, he no sooner saw a band of armed assassins, than he advanced to oppose their fury, brandishing his poignard, and exclaiming against the horrible deed. With his voice, with his hand, with every effort in the

power of man, he made a brave resistance, and gave Piso, wounded as he was, an opportunity of making his escape. Piso reached the temple of Vesta, where a slave of the state, touched with compassion, conducted him to his own private apartment. Piso lay concealed for some time, not indebted to the sanctity of the temple, nor to the rites of religion, but sheltered by the obscurity of the place. At length, Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a British cohort, and had been made by Galba a citizen of Rome, and Statius Murcus, a prætorian soldier, arrived in quest of him by Otho's special order. By these two men Piso was dragged to the vestibule of the temple, where, under repeated blows, he breathed his last.

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XLIV. IN the midst of a general massacre, no murder, we are told, gave so much satisfaction to Otho, nor was there, among the heads cut off (*a*), one, at which he gazed with such ardent eyes. By this event he felt himself relieved from all apprehensions. The fate of Galba and of Titus Vinius affected him in a different manner. The former brought to his mind an idea of majesty fallen from a state of elevation; and the death of the latter awakened the memory of an early friendship, and even into a heart like his, fierce, cruel, and ambitious, infused a tincture of melancholy. When Piso fell, an enemy expired. Feeling for him neither regret nor compunction, he gave a loose to joy. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried, amidst the ensigns of the cohorts, with the eagle of the legion, through the streets of Rome. A band of soldiers followed, stretching forth their hands, reeking with blood, and boasting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were present aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falsehood, claiming the honour of an atrocious deed. No less than one hundred and twenty memorials, presented on this occasion, by persons, who claimed the reward of crimes committed on that



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that dreadful day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the several authors, after diligent search made by his orders, were punished with death, not from motives of regard for the memory of Galba, but with the usual policy of princes, who think, by punishing the malefactors of a former reign, that they establish a precedent, and, by the terrors of future vengeance, effectually secure themselves.

XLV. ANOTHER senate and another people seemed now to be in possession of Rome. All pressed forward to the camp. You would have thought it a race of servility, in which every man endeavoured to outstrip his fellow-citizens, and be the first to pay his court. They joined in reviling the name of Galba, and all applauded the conduct of the foldiers. They thronged round Otho, fawning to kiss his hand, and, in proportion to their want of sincerity, playing the farce with overacted zeal. Otho was not deficient in the mummary of thanks and gratitude. Attentive to all, and gracious to individuals, he took care at the same time, by his looks and actions, to restrain the foldiers, who, by the ferocity of their looks, seemed to threaten further mischief. Marius Celsus, the consul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and, in the last extremity, continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to a lawless crew, with whom every virtue was a crime. They demanded his immediate execution. But their views were too apparent. The best and ablest men in Rome were doomed to destruction by a set of men, who panted to let loose their rage, and lay a scene of blood, of plunder, and devastation. Otho was not yet in fulness of power. His authority was sufficient to command the perpetration of crimes; to prohibit them was still beyond him. The part he assumed was that of a man enraged, and bent on some atrocious deed. In  
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that pretended fury, he ordered Celsus to be loaded with irons, as a man reserved for heavier punishment, and by that stratagem saved him from destruction.

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XLVI. THE prætorians, from this time, knew no controul. They chose their own præfects; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common soldier, raised afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partisan in favour of Otho. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who lived in intimacy with Otho, and was supposed to be an accomplice in all his dark designs. For the office of governor of Rome they named Flavius Sabinus (*a*), influenced in their choice by their respect for the memory of Nero, who had committed to him the same important charge. The majority had another motive: by concurring in this nomination, they meant to pay a compliment to Vespasian, the brother of Sabinus. Their next object was, to abolish the fees exacted by the centurions for occasional exemptions from duty, and for leave of absence. These fees, in fact, were an annual tribute out of the pockets of the common men. In consequence of this abuse, a fourth part of every company was seen rambling about the country, or idly loitering in the very camp. The centurion received his perquisite, and had no other care. Nor was the soldier solicitous about the price; he purchased a right to be idle, and the means by which he enabled himself to defray the expence gave him no kind of scruple. By theft, by robbery, and by servile employments, he gained enough to enrich his officer; and the officer, in return, sold a dispensation from labour and the duties of the service. Whoever had hoarded up a little money, was, for that reason, harassed with discipline, and oppressed with labour, till he purchased the usual indulgence. By these extortions the soldier was impoverished, his stock was



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exhausted; and after a vagabond life, his industry relaxed, and his vigour wasted, he returned to the camp without courage, strength, or money. By these pernicious practices corruption grew into a system. The common men forgot all discipline; their morals went to ruin; and, in the natural progress of vice, all became ripe for tumult, insurrections, and civil war. To remedy the mischief, and, at the same time, not to alienate the minds of the centurions, Otho undertook to pay an annual equivalent to the officers out of his own revenue. This reform was, no doubt, both wise and just. Good princes adopted it afterwards, and it is now a settled rule in the military system. Laco, the late commander of the prætorians, was condemned to an island, there, as was given out, to pass the remainder of his days; but a veteran foldier, whom Otho had dispatched for the purpose, put an end to his life. Martianus Icelus, being of no higher rank than that of a manumitted slave, died by the hand of the executioner.

XLVII. AFTER the horrors of a day, spent in guilt, and blood, and carnage, if any thing could add to the public misery, it was the joy that succeeded to that dismal scene. The prætor of the city (*a*) summoned a meeting of the senate. The other magistrates strove to distinguish themselves by the vilest adulation. The fathers assembled without delay. The tribunitian power, the name of Augustus, and all imperial honours enjoyed by former princes, were by a decree granted to Otho. Several members of that assembly were conscious of having thrown odious colours on the name and character of their new emperor, and hoped to expiate, by present flattery, the bitterness of former invectives. Whether Otho despised those injurious reflections, or stored them in his memory for future occasions, is uncertain. The shortness of his reign has left that matter undecided.

cided. He was conveyed in triumph to the capitol, and thence to the imperial palace. In his way, he saw the forum discoloured with blood, and heaps of slaughtered citizens lying round him. He granted leave to remove the dead bodies, and to perform the rites of sepulture. The remains of Piso were buried by his wife Verania (*b*), and Scribonianus his brother. The last duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Crispina (*c*). Their heads, which the murderers had reserved for sale, were found, and redeemed at a stipulated price.

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XLVIII. PISO had well nigh completed the thirty-first year of his age; always high in the esteem of the public, yet never happy. Two of his brothers suffered a violent death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Craffus, by the cruelty of Nero. He himself had passed a considerable part of his time in banishment; an outlaw for some years, and four days a prince. By the adoption of Galba he was raised above his elder brother; but, by that preference, all he gained was to be murdered first.

Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-seven; a man of unfettled principle, and various manners. His father was of a prætorian family; his grandfather by the maternal line was in the number proscribed by the triumvirate. His first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus (*a*), began with disgrace. The wife of his commanding officer, prompted by wanton curiosity, went by night, in the disguise of a common soldier, to view the site and disposition of the camp. In her frolic, she went round to visit the sentinels, and the posts and stations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were deposited, she did not scruple to commit the act of adultery on that sacred spot. Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and, by order of Caligula, loaded with irons. By the revolution which soon after



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happened, he regained his liberty, and from that time rose to honours. He discharged the office of prætor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name, however, was soon after branded with a crime, which a common slave would have blushed to commit. Being a guest at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day, that emperor, to distinguish Vinus from the rest of his company, gave orders that he should be trusted with nothing better than a cup of earthen ware. Notwithstanding this disgrace, he became proconsul of Narbon Gaul, and acquitted himself in his administration with distinguished firmness and equal integrity. The friendship of Galba placed him on the brink of a precipice. Bold and prompt in action, of an enterprising genius, and undaunted courage, he was at the same time dark, subtle, and deceitful. Qualified to succeed in whatever he undertook, and by nature ready for good or evil deeds, he practised vice and virtue with alternate success and equal ardour. His last will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piso was confirmed by his poverty.

XLIX. GALBA'S body, during the night that followed the murder, lay exposed to numberless indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, an ancient slave and steward of that unfortunate emperor, to the private gardens of his master, and there deposited in an humble manner, without honour or distinction. His head, in a mangled condition, was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, and set up to public view near the tomb of Patrobius, a slave manumitted by Nero, and by order of Galba put to death. In that situation it was found on the following day, and added to the ashes of the body, which had been already committed to the flames. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had seen the reign of

five

five princes, and enjoyed, during that whole period, a series of prosperity; happy as a private citizen, as a prince unfortunate. He was descended from a long line of ancestors. His wealth was great: his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice, he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vainglorious. Having no rapacity, he was an œconomist of his own, and of the public treasure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen he was open, generous, and even resigned to their will. When his choice was happily made, his indulgence, however excessive, was at worst an amiable weakness; when bad men surrounded him, his good-nature bordered on folly. The splendour of his rank, and the felicity with which he steered through the dangers of a black and evil period, helped to raise the value of his character: his indolence passed for wisdom, and inactivity took the name of prudence. In the vigour of his days, he served with honour in Germany; as proconsul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and the Nethermost Spain, when he was advanced in years, felt the mildness of his administration. While no higher than a private citizen, his merit was thought superior to his rank; and the suffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment.

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L. IN this disastrous juncture, while Rome was shuddering with horror at the late dreadful carnage, and, from the well known vices of Otho's nature, men were in dread of worse evils still to come, dispatches from Germany brought an account of a new storm ready to burst in that quarter. The revolt of Vitellius, and the armies under his command, was no longer a secret. The intelligence arrived before the death of Galba, but was suppressed by that emperor, that the sedition on the Upper Rhine might be thought



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thought the only mischief that disturbed the tranquillity of the empire. At length the true state of affairs was known, and a general panic spread through the city. Not only the senators and Roman knights, who had still some shadow of authority, but the meaner populace, mourned over the distractions of their country. All were grieved, to see two men of the most pernicious characters, enervated by luxury, and abandoned to every vice, chosen by some fatality to be the bane and ruin of the commonwealth. The crimes and miseries, which, under the late emperors, were one continued pestilence, were no longer the objects that employed the public mind. The civil wars were fresh in the memory of all; they talked of Rome besieged and taken by her own armies; they remembered Italy laid waste, the provinces plundered, the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, and the siege of Modena and Perugia (*a*), two places well known in history, and each of them the scene of public calamity.

“ In those tempestuous times, the struggle, it was observed,  
 “ lay between men of illustrious character, and by their conten-  
 “ tions the state was brought to the brink of ruin. But even  
 “ then, under Julius Cæsar, the empire still survived and flourish-  
 “ ed. It survived under Augustus, and gained additional lustre.  
 “ Under Pompey and Brutus, had their arms prevailed, the re-  
 “ public would have been once more established. But those men  
 “ have passed away. Otho and Vitellius are now the competitors:  
 “ and for them, or either of them, shall the people crowd to the  
 “ temples? Must they pray for a tyrant to reign over them?  
 “ Vows, in such a cause, were impious, since, in a war between  
 “ two detestable rivals, he, who conquers, will be armed with  
 “ power to commit still greater crimes, and prove himself the  
 “ worst.” Such were the reasonings of the people. Some, who  
 saw at a distance, fixed their eyes on Vespasian, and the armies  
 in

in the east. They foresaw new commotions in that part of the world, and dreaded the calamities of another war. Vespasian, they agreed, was in every respect superior to the two chiefs, who now convulsed the state; but even his character (*b*) was rather problematical. The truth is, of all the princes, who to his time reigned at Rome, he was the only one, whom power reformed, and made a better man.

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LI. THAT the revolt under Vitellius may be seen in its true light, it will be necessary to state the causes that produced it. I therefore go back to the origin of that event. After the defeat of Julius Vindex (*a*), and the total rout of his armies, the victorious legions, enriched with booty, grew wanton with success. To men, who without fatigue or danger had closed a lucrative war, the love of enterprise became a natural passion. They preferred hostilities to a state of inaction, and plunder to the soldier's pay. They had, till the late commotions called them forth, endured the hardships of a rigorous service, in a bleak climate and a desolate country, where, even in time of peace, discipline was enforced with strict severity. But discipline, they knew, would be relaxed by civil discord. In the distractions of parties, both sides encourage licentiousness; and, by consequence, fraud, corruption, and treachery triumph with impunity. The mutinous soldiers were abundantly provided with arms and horses, both for parade and service. Before the late war in Gaul, they saw no more than the company, or the troop of horse, to which they belonged. Stationed at different quarters, they never went beyond their limits, and the boundaries of the provinces kept the armies distinct and separate. Being at length drawn together to make head against Vindex, they felt their own strength; and, having tasted the sweets of victory, they wanted to renew the troubles, by which their rapacity had been so amply gratified. They no longer



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longer treated the Gauls as their allies and friends; they considered them as enemies, and a vanquished people.

In these hostile sentiments they were confirmed by such of the Gallic nation as dwelt on the borders of the Rhine. The people, on that side of the country, had taken up arms against Vindex, and his allies, whom, since the death of that chief, they chose to call the *GALBIAN FACTION*; and now, by every artifice, by infusions of their own malice, they endeavoured to kindle a war between the Romans and their countrymen. The animosity of the legions was easily excited. The Sequanians, the *Æduans*, and other states, according to their opulence, were the chief objects of resentment. The soldiers thought of nothing but towns assaulted and carried by storm, the plunder of houses, and the desolation of the country. In the heat of imagination, every man anticipated the booty that was to fall to his share. To their arrogance and avarice, the never failing vices of the strongest, they united the indignation of men, who felt themselves insulted by the vainglory, with which the *Æduans* and the rest of the obnoxious states made it their boast, that, in despite of the legions, they had extorted from Galba a remission of one fourth of their tribute, and an extension of their territory. To these incentives was added a report, artfully thrown out and readily believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the best and bravest of the centurions to be dismissed from the service. To increase the ferment, tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and, in particular, a storm was said to be gathering over the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, still faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, took care to disseminate the worst reports. From that place, as from the centre of intelligence, rumours constantly issued: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day,

and

and credulity stood ready to receive it. The passions of the soldiers were in constant agitation: malice embittered their minds, and fear held them in suspense. But they viewed their numbers, and their courage revived. They found themselves in force, and in full security laughed at the idea of danger.

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LII. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year, when Aulus Vitellius first appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his business to review the legions in their winter-quarters; he restored several officers, who had been degraded, and relieved others from the disgrace of an ignominious sentence. In these proceedings he acted, in some instances, with justice, in others, with a view to his own ambition. He condemned the sordid avarice, with which Fonteius Capito granted or refused rank in the army. He established a fair and regular system of military promotion, and in the eyes of the soldiers appeared to exceed the powers usually vested in consular generals. He seemed to be an officer of superior weight and grandeur. Reflecting men saw the baseness of his motives (*a*), while his creatures extolled every part of his conduct. The profusion, which, without judgment or œconomy, lavished away in bounties all his own property, and squandered that of others, was by his sycophants called benevolence and generosity. Even the vices, that sprung from lust of dominion, were by his creatures transformed into so many virtues.

In the two armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, there were, no doubt, men well disposed, and of sober conduct; but at the same time, both camps were infested by a set of desperate incendiaries. At the head of the factious and the turbulent stood Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a legion, both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a daring spirit,



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spirit, ready for any desperate enterprise. Valens had served the interest of Galba, by detecting Verginius, as soon as the conduct of that officer seemed to be equivocal: he had also crushed the machinations of Capito, and for those services thought himself ill requited. Stung with resentment, he now endeavoured to rouse the ambition of Vitellius. "The foldiers," he said, "were zealous in his service, and the name of Vitellius stood in high esteem throughout the Roman world. From Hordeonius Flaccus no opposition was to be apprehended. Britain was ready to declare against Galba, and the German auxiliaries would follow their example. The provinces wavered in their duty, and, by consequence, the precarious authority of a feeble old man would be soon transferred to other hands. Fortune courted Vitellius: he had nothing to do but to open his arms, and receive her favours. Verginius, indeed, had every thing to chill his hopes, and damp his resolution. He had no splendid line of ancestors to recommend him. He was of an equestrian family; but his father lived and died in obscurity. A man of his cast would have proved unequal to the weight of empire. A private station was to him a post of safety. The case of Vitellius was very different. Sprung from a father, who had been three times consul, once in conjunction with the emperor Claudius, and who, moreover, had discharged the office of censor, he might well aspire to the highest elevation. The honours of his family marked him out for the imperial dignity. Too great for a private station, he must reach the summit of power, or be utterly lost." Notwithstanding this inflammatory speech, the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was not to be roused. A few faint wishes fluttered at his heart, but hope could find no admission.

LIII. MEANWHILE Cæcina, who served in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himself the affections of the army.

Young,

Young, and of a comely figure, tall and well proportioned, with an air of dignity in his deportment, a flow of eloquence, and an aspiring genius, he had all the qualities that made an impression on the military mind. Though a young man, he discharged the office of quæstor in the province of Bætica in Spain, and was among the first that went over to Galba's interest. That emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding, afterwards, that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a strict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to submit with patience. He resolved to embroil the state, and in the general confusion hoped to find a remedy for his own private afflictions. The seed-plots of rebellion were already laid in the army. In the war against Vindex they had taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favour of Galba. Even in that act of submission, they shewed no forward zeal, but suffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. There was still another circumstance that helped to sharpen their discontent. The Treviri, the Lingones, and other states, which had felt the severity of Galba's edicts, or had seen their territory reduced to narrower limits, lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions. Hence frequent intercourse, cabals, and seditious meetings, in which the soldiers grew more corrupt, envenomed as they were by the politics of discontented peasants. Hence their zeal to promote the interest of Verginius, and, when that project failed, their readiness to list under any other chief.

LIV. THE Lingones, in token of friendship, had sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right hands clasping one another. Their deputies appeared with the mien and garb of affliction. They went round the camp, and in every quarter disburthened their

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complaints. In the tents, and in the place for the standards and eagles, they painted forth their own private injuries, while other states enjoyed the favour and the protection of Galba. Finding that they made an impression, they represented to the soldiers the dangers that hung over their own heads, and the hardships under which they laboured. The Romans caught the infection. A general phrenzy spread through the camp; the flame of sedition was ready to break out; and some dreadful mischief seemed to be impending, when Hordeonius Flaccus, in the dead of night, ordered the deputies to depart without further delay. A report soon prevailed that they were all treacherously murdered, and that, if the soldiers did not instantly provide for their own safety, the best and bravest of the army would be cruelly butchered, under covert of the night, far from their comrades, and without the knowledge of their friends. A secret combination was immediately formed. The soldiers joined in a bond of union. The auxiliary cohorts, at first suspected of a design to rise against the legions, and put the whole body to the sword, entered into the league with eager ardour. Such is the nature of profligate and abandoned minds: in peace and profound tranquillity, they seldom agree; but for seditious purposes a coalition is easily formed.

LV. THE legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the usual form of swearing fidelity to Galba; but the form only was observed. No man was seen to act with alacrity. In the foremost ranks a feeble sound was heard; the words of the oath were repeated with an unwilling murmur, while the rest remained in sullen silence; each man, as usual in dangerous enterprises, expecting the bold example of his comrades, ready to second the insurrection, yet not daring to begin it. A leaven of discordant humours pervaded the whole mass of the army. The first and fifth legions were the most

outrageous: some of them pelted the images of Galba with a volley of stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth abstained from acts of violence, but were loud and clamorous: they bawled sedition, but waited for ringleaders to begin the fray.

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In the Upper Germany the tumult was still more violent. On the same calends of January, the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter-camp, dashed the images of Galba into fragments. In this outrage the fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for some time, followed their example. Unwilling, however, to incur the imputation of a rebellion against their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE, and in that republican form took the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, nor even so much as a tribune, appeared in favour of Galba; on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in cases of public confusion, not only connived, but helped to increase the tumult. The mutineers were still without a leader. No man took upon him to harangue the multitude; no orator ascended the tribunal; nor could the incendiaries tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

LVI. HORDEONIUS FLACCUS beheld this scene of confusion, and, though a consular commander, never once interposed with his authority to restrain the violent, to secure the wavering, or to animate the well affected. He looked on, a calm spectator, tame and passive; it may be added, innocent, but innocent through sluggish indolence. Four centurions of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba. The soldiers attacked them with impetuous violence, and all four were loaded with fetters. From that moment



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ment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer binding. It happened in this, as in all seditions: one set appeared to be the most numerous, the rest followed the leaders, and the whole herd was of one party. In the course of the night that followed the calends of January, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony (*a*), where Vitellius was engaged at a banquet, with intelligence, that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having destroyed the images of Galba, took a new form of oath to THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE. As that government existed no longer, the oath was deemed a nullity. In this crisis it was judged proper to seize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Dispatches were accordingly sent to inform the army in the Lower Germany, that the foldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that, by consequence, it remained for them either to march against the rebels, or, for the sake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In choosing for themselves they would hazard little; but indecision might be dangerous.

LVII. THE winter-quarters (*a*) of the first legion were nearest to the residence of Vitellius. Fabius Valens was the commanding officer; a prompt and daring leader of sedition. On the following day he put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and, with a party of the auxiliaries, proceeded by a rapid march to the Agrippinian colony. He no sooner entered the city, than he saluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with zeal and ardour, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January, the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius losing all memory of the senate and the Roman people. Those  
specious

specious words, which a few days before resounded with so much energy, were dropt at once; and the men, it now was plain, were never in their hearts the soldiers of a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lingones were determined not to be behind-hand in demonstrations of zeal. They offered a supply of arms and horses, of men and money, in proportion to their respective abilities. The strong and valiant were willing to serve in person; the rich opened their treasure; and the skilful gave their advice. The leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themselves by the spoils of war, wished for another victory that might bring with it an accumulation of wealth. The zeal with which they entered into the league, was what might be expected; but the alacrity of the common men was beheld with wonder. Poor and destitute, they made a tender of their travelling subsistence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the silver ornaments of their armour; all excited by one general impulse, a sudden fit of blind enthusiasm. In their motives there was, no doubt, a mingle of avarice; and plunder, they hoped, would be the reward of valour.

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LVIII. VITELLIUS, after bestowing the highest praise on the spirit, with which the soldiers embraced his cause, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public business. He transferred the offices, hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen, to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemptions from duty, were, for the future, to be defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the soldiers, demanding vengeance on particular persons, was not to be repressed. He yielded in some instances, and in others eluded their resentment under colour of reserving the obnoxious for heavier punishment. Pompeius Propinquus, the governor of Belgic Gaul,



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Gaul, was put to death on the spot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, was saved by an artful stratagem. The army considered that officer as the accuser first, and afterwards as the murderer of Fonteius Capito, whose memory was still held in respect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius: he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in prison till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeased the wrath of the soldiers. He then was set at liberty. In the mean time, Centurio Crispinus, who with his own hand had shed the blood of Capito, suffered as a victim to expiate that atrocious deed. His guilt was manifest; the soldiers demanded his blood, and Vitellius thought a man of that description no kind of loss.

LIX. JULIUS CIVILIS was the next whom the army doomed to destruction; but being of high rank and consequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people saved his life. There were, at that time, in the territory of the Lingones, no less than eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at first as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times; a body of men, in that juncture, of the greatest moment. It was in their power to turn the scale in favour of whatever party they espoused. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were, by order of Vitellius, hurried to execution. They had remained steady in their duty to their prince; and fidelity is a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Asiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom, in a short time after, Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage; and Junius Blæsus, who presided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion (*a*), and the body of horse called the Taurinian cavalry (*b*), went over to the party of the new emperor.

emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in suspense, and the legions in Britain declared, without hesitation, in favour of Vitellius.

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LX. BRITAIN was, at that time, governed by Trebellius Maximus (*a*); a man, for his avarice and sordid practices, despised and hated by the army. Between him and Roscius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long subsisting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, and embittered by the distractions of a civil war. Cælius was charged by his superior officer with being the fomentor of sedition, and an enemy to discipline and good order: in return, he recriminated, alleging that the commander in chief plundered the legions, and left the soldiers to languish in distress and poverty. From this dissension between their officers the common men caught the infection. All discipline was at an end. Licentiousness prevailed, and the tumult rose, at length, to such a height, that Trebellius, insulted openly by the auxiliaries, deserted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, was obliged to fly for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithstanding the flight of a consular governor, remained in a perfect state of tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commissions equal in authority, but eclipsed by the enterprising genius and the daring spirit of Cælius.

LXI. THE arrival of the forces from Britain was an accession of strength; and thereupon Vitellius, flushed with hope, abounding in resources, and strong in numbers, resolved to carry the war into Italy by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was sent forward, with instructions to draw to his interest the people of Gaul, and, if he



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found them obstinate, to lay waste their country with fire and sword. He was afterwards to pass over the *Cottian Alps* (*a*), and make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his descent on that side. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty thousand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no less than thirty thousand, of which the one-and-twentieth legion was the main strength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Vitellius followed them, with a third army, to crush whatever resisted, and bring up the whole weight of the war.

LXII. THE new emperor and his army presented a striking contrast: the soldiers burned with impatience, and with one voice demanded to be led against the enemy. "It was time," they said, "to push on the war with vigour, while the two Gauls are in commotion, and Spain is yet undecided. The winter season is far from being an obstacle; nor were the men to be amused with idle negotiations to bring on a compromise. Italy, in all events, must be invaded, and Rome taken by storm. In civil dissensions, it is expedition that gives life and energy to all military operations. The crisis called for vigour, and debate was out of season." Vitellius, in the mean time, loitered away his time in dull repose, lifeless, torpid, drunk at noon-day, and overwhelmed with gluttony (*a*). The imperial dignity, he thought, consisted in riot and profusion, and he resolved to enjoy the prerogative of a prince. The spirit of the soldiers supplied the defects of their prince. They neither wanted him in the ranks to animate the brave, nor to rouse the tardy and inactive. Each man was his own general. With

one

one consent they formed the ranks, and demanded the signal for the march. They saluted Vitellius by the name of Germanicus (*b*); that of Cæsar he chose to decline, and even after his victory always rejected it. Valens began his march. On that very day his army beheld a joyful omen. An eagle appeared at the head of the lines, measuring his flight by the movement of the soldiers, as if to guide them on their way. The air resounded with shouts of joy, while the bird proceeded in the same regular course, undismayed by the uproar, and still seeming to direct the march. A phenomenon so unusual was considered as a sure prognostic of a signal victory.

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LXIII. THE army advanced in good order towards the state of the Treveri, whom they considered as their friends and allies. At Divodurum (*a*) (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindness, but were seized unaccountably with a sudden panic, in its effect so extraordinary, that the soldiers grasped their arms, and fell upon the innocent inhabitants sword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no share; a sudden phrensy possessed every mind; and, as the cause was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No less than four thousand men were massacred; and, if the entreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood. The rest of Gaul was alarmed by this horrible catastrophe to such a degree, that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magistrates at their head, went forth in a suppliant manner to sue for mercy. Mothers with their children lay prostrate on the ground, as if a conquering enemy advanced against them; and, though nothing like hostility subsisted, the wretched people were obliged, in profound peace, to deprecate all the horrors of war.



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LXIV. VALENS arrived with his army at the capital city of the Leucians (*a*). At that place he received intelligence of the murder of Galba, and the accession of Otho. The news made no impression on the soldiers. Unmoved by joy or fear, they thought of nothing but the spoils of war. The Gauls, released by this event from their attachment to Galba, were now at liberty to choose their party. Otho and Vitellius were objects of their detestation; but they feared the latter. The army proceeded on their march to the territory of the Lingones, a people well disposed towards Vitellius. They met with a friendly reception, and passed their time in acts of mutual kindness. But this amicable intercourse was interrupted by the intemperance of the cohort (*b*), which had been separated, as already mentioned, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens incorporated with his army. Being of the Batavian nation, and by nature fierce and warlike, they lived on bad terms with the legions. Opprobrious words passed between them; from words contention arose: the legionary soldiers entered into the dispute, and joined the different parties as judgment or inclination prompted. The quarrel rose to such a pitch, that, if Valens had not interposed, and, by making a few examples, recalled the Batavians to a sense of their duty, a bloody battle must have been the consequence.

A colourable pretext for falling on the Æduans was the ardent wish of the army; but that people not only complied with the demand of money and arms, but added a voluntary supply of provisions. What was thus done by the Æduans through motives of fear, the people of Lyons performed with inclination and zeal to serve the cause of Vitellius. From that city the ITALIC LEGION and the TAURINIAN CAVALRY were ordered to join the army. The eighteenth cohort (*c*), which had been used to

winter

winter there, was left in garrison. Manlius Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion. This officer had rendered good service to the cause, but his services were repaid with ingratitude by Vitellius. The last was, Fabius Valens, the commander in chief, had given a secret stab to his reputation, and, to cover his malice, played an artful game, with all the plausible appearance of fly hypocrisy. In public he praised the person whom he wounded in the dark.

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LXV. THE late war had kindled afresh the deadly feud, which had long subsisted between the people of Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne (*a*). In the various battles, which they had fought with alternate success, and prodigious slaughter, it was visible that so much animosity was not merely the effect of party-rage in a contest between Nero and Galba. The people of Lyons had felt the weight of Galba's displeasure; they saw their revenues (*b*) wrested out of their hands, and confiscated to the imperial treasury, while their inveterate enemies enjoyed the favours of the emperor. Hence a new source of jealousy. The two cities were separated by a river (*c*); but they were hostile neighbours, and they saw each other with inflamed resentment. Revenge and malice were not to be appeased. The citizens of Lyons omitted nothing that could excite the legions against their rivals: they talked with the soldiers, man by man, and nothing less than the utter destruction of Vienne could satisfy their indignation. "Lyons," they said, "had been besieged by their mortal enemies, who had taken up arms in the cause of Vindex, and lately raised recruits to complete the legions in the service of Galba." To these incentives they added the temptation of plunder in a rich and opulent city. Finding that they had infused their rancour into the minds of the soldiers, they no longer depended on secret practices, but openly, and in a body, preferred their



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their petition, imploring the army to march forth the redressers of wrong, and rase to the ground a city, that had been the nursery of war, and a hive of enemies; a foreign race, who hated the Roman name. Lyons, they said, was a confederate colony (*d*), a portion of the army, willing, at all times, to share in the good or evil fortune of the empire. The issue of the present war might be disastrous to their party. They therefore implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a defeat, at the mercy of a furious and implacable enemy.

LXVI. THESE entreaties had their effect. The legions were roused to vengeance, and the flame rose to such a height, that the commanders and other officers despaired of being able to extinguish it. The inhabitants of Vienne had notice of their danger. They came forth in solemn procession, bearing in their hands (*a*) the sacred vestments, and all the usual tokens of peace and humble supplication. They met the Romans on their march, and, falling prostrate on the ground, clasped their knees, and in a pathetic strain deprecated the vengeance ready to burst upon them. Fabius Valens judged it expedient to order a distribution of three hundred sesterces to each man. The soldiers began to relent, and the colony was respected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded in behalf of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The state, however, was obliged to furnish a supply of arms and warlike stores. Individuals, with emulation, contributed from their private stock. The report, however, was, that the people, in good time, applied a large sum of money, and purchased the protection of the commander in chief. Thus much is certain, that, after being for a long time depressed with poverty, he grew suddenly rich, but took no pains to conceal his affluence. The art of rising in the world with moderation, was not the talent of Valens. His passions had been restrained by indigence, and

and now, when fortune smiled, the sudden taste of pleasure hurried him into excess. A beggar in his youth, he was, in old age, a voluptuous prodigal.

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The army proceeded by slow marches through the territory of the Allobrogians, and thence to the Vocontians, the general, during the whole progress, making his market at every place, and selling his favours for a sum of money. For a bribe he fixed the length of each day's march, and shifted his camp for a price agreed upon between him and the owners of the lands. In all these exactions Valens enforced his orders with unrelenting cruelty, nor did he blush to drive open bargains with the magistrates of the several cities. Torches and firebrands were prepared to fire the town of Lucus, situate in the territory of the Vocontians; and the place would infallibly have been burnt to the ground, if the people had not ransomed themselves with a considerable sum. Where pecuniary bribes were not to be had, women were obliged to resign their persons, and prostitution became the price of common humanity. In this manner, gratifying his avarice, or his brutal passions, Valens arrived at the foot of the Alps.

LXVII. CÆCINA, who commanded the second army, marked his way with greater rapine and more horrible cruelty. He found in the territory of the Helvetians abundant cause to provoke a man of his ferocious temper. The people of that district, originally a Gallic nation (*a*), were renowned in former times for their valour, and their exploits in war. Of late years the history of their ancestors was their only glory. Not having heard of the death of Galba, they were unwilling to acknowledge Vitellius. In this disposition of their minds, they had soon a cause of quarrel, occasioned by the rapacity of the twenty-first legion. That body  
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of men fell in with a party, who were escorting a sum of money to a strong fort, where the Helvetians had immemorially maintained a garrison. The Romans seized the whole as lawful plunder. An act of violence, so unwarranted, raised the indignation of the people. Determined to make reprisals, they intercepted a small party on their way to Pannonia, with letters from the German army to the legions stationed in that country. They seized the papers, and detained in custody a centurion with some of his soldiers. This, to such a man as Cæcina, was ample provocation. He wished for nothing so much as a pretence for open hostility. Whenever he took umbrage, he struck his blow without delay. To defer the punishment, were to leave time for repentance. He marched against the Helvetians, and, having laid waste the country, sacked a place, built, during the leisure of a long peace, in the form of a municipal town, remarkable for the beauty of the situation, and, by reason of its salubrious waters (*b*), much frequented. Not content with this act of revenge, he sent dispatches into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country to hang upon the rear of the Helvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.

LXVIII. THE spirit of the Helvetians, fierce and intrepid, while the danger was at a distance, began to droop as soon as the war drew nearer. In the beginning of these hostilities they had chosen Claudius Severus to command their forces, but terror and confusion followed. They neither knew the use of their arms, nor the advantage of discipline. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest they now perceived must be unequal with a veteran army; and, their fortifications being every where in decay, to stand a siege was not advisable. Cæcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry  
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and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, enured to arms, and trained to the art of war, were ready to attack them in the rear. The country was laid waste, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and, after wandering about in a general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to resist, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain, known by the name of Vocetius (*a*). A band of Thracians was sent to dislodge them. Driven from their fastnesses, they betook themselves to the woods, or fled to their lurking places, while the Germans and Rhætians hung upon them in their flight. Several thousands were put to the sword, or sold to slavery. Having ravaged the country, and laid a scene of desolation, the army marched to the siege of Aventicum (*b*), the capital city of the Helvetians. The inhabitants sent their deputies, offering to surrender at discretion. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

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LXIX. THE Helvetians sent their ambassadors to the new emperor; but which was most implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The soldiers clamoured for the utter destruction of the whole race. They brandished their arms in the face of the ambassadors, and threatened blows and brutal violence. Vitellius shewed no less ferocity. He gave vent to a torrent of abuse, and threw out violent menaces. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, who possessed an uncommon share of eloquence, but had the skill, under an appearance of well-acted terror, to conceal his power over the passions of his audience, had the address to sooth the minds of the soldiers. Their rage subsided, and compassion took its turn. Such is the nature



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of the multitude; easily inflamed, and with a sudden transition shifting to the opposite extreme. They melted into tears, and never ceased their supplications, till they prevailed on Vitellius, and saved the people from destruction.

LXX. CÆCINA, wanting further instructions from Vitellius, and, at the same time, making all proper arrangements for his passage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that situation, he received intelligence that the squadron of horse called Sylla's squadron (*a*), at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had sworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly served under Vitellius, when he was the proconsular governor (*b*) of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into Ægypt, ordered them to sail for that country; but, being soon after alarmed by the commotions stirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and closely connected with Vitellius, espoused the interest of the latter. By representing to the men the strength of the legions then on their march, to the invasion of Italy, and by extolling the valour of the German armies, they drew the whole squadron into their party. As a further proof of their zeal for their new prince, they attracted to his interest the chief municipal towns on the other side of the Po, namely, Mediolanum (*c*), Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Of this fact Cæcina was apprised by dispatches from the officers. But a single squadron, he knew, was not sufficient to defend so large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them, he sent forward the cohorts of Gaul, of Lusitania, and Britain, with the succours from Germany, and the squadron of horse called the ALA PETRINA (*d*). How he himself should pass into Italy, was his next consideration. His first plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains (*e*), in order

to make a descent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, supposed to be a partisan in Otho's service, was busy in collecting forces, and destroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterprize was soon relinquished. The detachment already sent forward might be cut off, and, after all, the secure possession of Italy was the important object. The issue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall, by consequence, into the hands of the conqueror. He resolved, therefore, to proceed by the shortest way into Italy. For this purpose, he ordered the troops lightly armed to proceed on their journey, and, with the legions heavily armed, he marched himself over the Penine Alps (*f*), through a waste of snow, and all the rigours of the winter season.

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LXXI. Отно, in the mean time, displayed a new and unexpected character. He renounced his love of pleasure, or, at least, dissembled for the present. Scorning to loiter in luxury and inglorious ease, he assumed a spirit becoming the majesty of empire. And yet the change diffused a general terror: men knew that his virtues were false, and they dreaded a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celsus, the consul elect, whom he had put in irons (*a*) in order to rescue him from the hands of the soldiers, to appear before him in the capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, by releasing a man of illustrious character, and well known to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the object of his ambition. Celsus appeared with unshaken constancy. He confessed the crime of adhering faithfully to the unfortunate Galba, and, by that firmness, gave the emperor a fair opportunity to grace his character. Otho did not assume the tone of a sovereign granting pardon to a criminal; but, to shew that he could think generously of an enemy, and to remove all doubt of the sincerity of his reconciliation, he received Celsus



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among his intimate friends, and, in a short time afterwards, appointed him one of his generals to conduct the war. Celsus accepted the commission, and remained steady to his trust. His fidelity was honourable, but unfortunate. The clemency of the prince gave great satisfaction to the leading men at Rome; the populace applauded, and even the soldiers admired the virtue which they had condemned.

LXXII. THE joy excited on this occasion was followed by an event no less acceptable, but for reasons of a different nature. The public voice was loud against Sophonius Tigellinus (*a*), and accordingly his doom was fixed. From low beginnings this man had raised himself to eminence in the state. His birth was obscure. Stained in his youth with the worst impurities, he retained, in his advanced years, all his early habits, and closed with disgrace a life begun in infamy. By his vices, the surest road to preferment, he obtained the command, first of the city cohorts, and afterwards of the prætorian guards. The rewards which were due to virtue only, he obtained by his crimes. To his effeminate qualities he united some of those rougher evils which may be called manly passions, such as avarice and cruelty. Having gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Nero, he was, in some instances, the adviser of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowledge of his master. He corrupted Nero at first, and in the end deserted him. Hence it was that the blood of a criminal was never demanded with such violent clamour. The men who detested the memory of Nero, and those who still regretted him, concurred in one opinion. They all joined in the cry for public justice. During the short reign of Galba, he lived secure under the protection of Titus Vinius. In fact, he had some merit with that minister, having saved the life of his daughter; but in that  
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very act, humanity was not his motive. A man who had shed so much innocent blood, could not be suspected of a single virtue. His design was, by a new connection, to screen himself from future danger.

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Such at all times is the policy of the worst of men: they dread a reverse of fortune, and, in the hour of need, hope to shelter themselves under the protection of some pernicious favourite. Innocence is no part of their care; they know that the guilty are ever ready to defend each other. But the friendship of Vinius, who was still remembered with detestation, was an additional spur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they furrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre, where licentiousness is most apt to shew itself, they clamoured, with a degree of violence little short of sedition, for the punishment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the baths of Sinuessæ (*b*). Orders were sent to him to put a period to his life. He received the fatal news in a circle of his concubines; he took leave with tenderness; and after mutual embraces, and other trifling delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the pusillanimity of his last moments disgracing even the infamy of his former life.

LXXIII. ABOUT the same time, the execution of Calvia Crispinilla (*a*) was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with dishonour, she was saved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the professed teacher of lascivious pleasures, and, in the various scenes of that emperor, the caterer for his appetite. She passed afterwards into Africa, and, having instigated Clodius Macer to revolt, became an accomplice in the plot to cause a famine in the city of Rome. She was married soon after to a man of consular



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fular rank, and, by that connection, gained a powerful interest, infomuch that, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, she lived in perfect security. Even in the following reign she was high in credit. Her riches, and her want of children, placed her in a flourishing state; and those two circumstances, in good as well as evil times, are sure to be of weight.

LXXIV. OTHO, in the mean time, endeavoured by frequent letters to divert Vitellius from his purpose. His proposals were in the soft style of female persuasion; he offered money, and a retreat for voluptuous enjoyments, with all that the prince's favour could bestow. Vitellius answered in the same delicate strain. Both parties corresponded in dainty terms, with dissembled hatred, and frivolous negociation, till, exasperated by want of success, they changed their tone, and, with unguarded invective, charged each other with criminal pleasures and flagitious deeds. Both had truth on their sides. Weary of altercation, Otho recalled the deputies, who had been sent by Galba, and, in their room, dispatched others to the German army, to the Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with instructions to negotiate in the name of the senate. The men employed in this embassy tarried with Vitellius, and, by their cheerful compliance, left no room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honour to the embassy, Otho had sent a detachment of the prætorian guards. Without suffering them to mix with the soldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write, in the name of the German army, to the prætorian guards. His letters, in a style of magnificence, set forth the strength of the legions, and, at the same time, offered terms of mutual concord. He condemned the forward zeal, with which they presumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been vested in Vitellius. He mingled promises with expres-

expressions of anger, and, after treating the prætorians as men unequal to an important war, gave them assurances that they would lose nothing by peace and unanimity. These letters, however, were without effect. The prætorians continued firm in their duty.

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LXXV. THE rival chiefs began to lay snares for each other. They waged a war of treachery. Emissaries were sent by Otho into Germany, and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties missed their aim. The agents of Vitellius passed undetected. Amidst a concourse of people, in so vast a city as Rome, they could lurk with impunity; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were soon discovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius, anxious for his family, then residing at Rome, sent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children (*a*), to make reprisals, and put both him and his son to death. Both families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, after his victory, added to his laurels the palm of clemency.

LXXVI. THE first occurrence that inspired Otho with confidence in his cause, was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia, and Mæsia had declared in his favour. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict, honourable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province. That compliment, however, was found to be premature. Spain went over to the interest of Vitellius. The people of Aquitaine, under the influence of Julius Cordus, had sworn obedience to Otho; but a little time shewed, that the obligation of an oath was no longer binding. All principle,



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ciple, all affection, and all truth were banished. Fear, and the necessity of the times, governed in every quarter. Narbon Gaul acceded to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in drawing their neighbours into a league with themselves. The distant provinces, and all places separated by the Mediterranean, adhered to Otho, not from motives of regard for him or his party, but because the name of Rome and the senate was still respected by foreign nations. Besides this, Otho, being the first announced in foreign parts, had already made his impression. The army in Judæa, under the conduct of Vespasian, and that in Syria, under Mucianus, swore fidelity to Otho. Ægypt, and the provinces in the east, acknowledged his authority. The same disposition prevailed in Africa. That whole country was willing to follow the example set by the people of Carthage. In that city, without any order or authority from Vipsanius Apronianus, then proconsular governor of the province, a public treat was given by a pragmatial fellow, of the name of Crescens, one of Nero's freedmen, who had the ambition to distinguish himself as an active partisan in the interest of Otho. Such, in times of public distraction, is the presumption of the lowest men in the state. They think it time to emerge from their obscurity, and act their part, as if they had an interest in the commonwealth. The mob of Carthage expressed their zeal with all demonstrations of joy, and the rest of Africa followed their example.

LXXVII. In this posture of affairs, while the armies and the several provinces embraced opposite interests, it was evident that Vitellius, to secure his title, had nothing left but the decision of the sword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, discharging all the functions of the sovereign power, as if he was established in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in some instances,

instances, was such as became the dignity of the state; but his measures, for the most part, were hastily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himself and his brother Titianus joint consuls (*a*), to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to curry favour with the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Poppæus Vopiscus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendship; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future consuls, no alteration was made in the arrangement settled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to succeed for the months of May and June. From the first of July to September, Arrius Antoninus (*b*) and Marius Celsus were to be in office. Nor did Vitellius, after his victory, disturb this order of succession. Otho, at the same time, thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the summit of civil honours, to such of the senators as were grown grey in public stations; nor was he unmindful of the young patricians lately recalled from banishment. To soothe the remembrance of their sufferings, he bestowed upon them the sacerdotal honours which had been enjoyed by their ancestors. Cadius Rufus (*c*), Pedius Blæsus, and Sævinus Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the senate, were restored to their rank. To varnish this proceeding, the real offence was suppressed, and what was, in fact, public rapine, in the style of the pardon took the name of violated majesty; a charge held in such general detestation, that, to elude it, the best and wisest laws were set aside.

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LXXVIII. In order to extend his popularity, Otho, in the next place, turned his thoughts to the cities and provinces, little doubting but by acts of munificence he should be able to strengthen



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his interest. To the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita (*a*), then on the decline, he transplanted a number of families: the Lingones were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Moorish cities were annexed. He gave a new code of laws to Cappadocia, and another to Africa; all popular grants, and splendid for the present, but soon to fade away, and sink into oblivion. Amidst these innovations, all of them temporizing acts, occasioned by the pressure of his affairs, and perhaps on that account excusable, he did not forget his tender passions. Even in the moment when the sovereign power was still at stake, his love of Poppæa was not extinguished. With fond remembrance of that connection, he caused her statues to be restored by a decree of the senate. There is reason to think, that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero, with public honours. Many were for erecting the statues of that emperor (*b*), and even proposed it as a public measure. The populace and the soldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional splendour, saluted him by the title of NERO OTHO. He heard their acclamations, but remained silent; perhaps unwilling to reject the compliment, perhaps ashamed to accept it.

LXXIX. THE public mind being now intent on the great scene that began to open, no wonder if foreign affairs fell into neglect. Encouraged by the inattention that prevailed at Rome, the Rhoxolanians, a people of Sarmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two entire cohorts, made an irruption into the province of Mæsia, with nine thousand horse; a band of freebooters, determined to ravage the country. Plunder, and not war, was their passion. They prowled about in quest of prey, without order, or apprehension of an enemy, when, on a sudden, they found themselves hemmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries,

iliaries. The Romans advanced in order of battle. The Sarmatians, overloaded with booty, were taken by surprise. On a damp and slippery soil, the swiftness of their horses was of no use. Unable to retreat, they were cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, than soldiers armed for the field of battle. It may seem strange, but it is not less true, that the courage of the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends altogether upon external circumstances; a kind of courage, that has no source in the mind, but may be said to be out of the man. In an engagement with the infantry, nothing can be more dastardly; in an onset of the cavalry, they are impetuous, fierce, and irresistible. Their weapons are long spears or javalins of an enormous size, which they wield with both hands. The chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to the enemy, but to themselves an incumbrance so unwieldy, that he who falls in battle is never able to rise again.

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In their encounter with the Romans, a heavy fall of rain and a sudden thaw deprived them of all advantage from the velocity of their horses; the consequence was, that they were overwhelmed in a deep waste of snow. The light breast-plates of the Romans were no impediment. With their missile weapons, and their swords of a moderate length, they were able to rush into the thickest ranks; while the Sarmatians, who wear neither shield nor buckler, were a mark at a distance, or in close engagement cut to pieces. The few who escaped from the slaughter, fled for refuge to their fens and marshes, and there died of their wounds, or perished under the inclemency of the season. An account of this transaction being received at Rome, a triumphal statue was decreed to Marcus Aponius, then governor of Mæsia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numisius



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Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the consular ornaments. The joy expressed by Otho was beyond all bounds. He assumed the merit of the victory, boasting with vain glory, that, by his own auspicious fortune, and the valour of his officers and his armies, he had aggrandised the Roman name.

LXXX. FROM a cause altogether contemptible, and in its origin threatening no kind of danger, a violent sedition well nigh involved the city in ruin. The seventeenth cohort, then quartered at Ostia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a tribune of the prætorian bands. That officer, intending to execute his orders without noise or bustle, chose his time towards the close of day, when the camp was quiet. He opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons to be loaded. The lateness of the hour filled the men with suspicion; the intention seemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of secrecy produced a general tumult. The soldiers were in liquor, and, at the sight of their arms, reasoning like drunken men, they thought it their business to seize them without delay. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud, that a dark conspiracy was formed, with intention to arm the slaves and domestics of the senators against the life of Otho. A scene of uproar and confusion followed. Some were stupified with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate liked the opportunity to commit midnight plunder; and the multitude, as usual, were ready to mix in any sudden commotion. Those who regarded discipline and good order, were undistinguished in the dark. The tribune, who attempted to restrain their fury, was murdered on the spot. The centurions, who exerted themselves on the occasion, suffered in like manner. The soldiers seized their arms; they mounted their

their horses, and, entering the city sword in hand, rushed in a body to the imperial palace.

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LXXXI. OTHO was engaged at a grand entertainment, to which he had invited the most distinguished of both sexes. A sudden terror seized the whole company. The cause was unknown. Was it an accidental fray among the soldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? What was to be done? Should they stay and perish together? or was it more advisable to disperse, and fly different ways? In the hurry and agitation no one could decide. They made a shew of resolution; their courage failed; they stood covered with consternation, and, with their eyes fixed on Otho, endeavoured to peruse his countenance. The usual fate of suspicious minds attended them all. They were afraid of Otho, and he stood trembling for himself. He trembled also for the senate, and thought of their danger no less than of his own. He ordered the two prætorian commanders to go forth, in order to appease the tumult, and, in the mean time, advised his company to depart. They fled with precipitation. The magistrates threw aside the ensigns of their office, and dispersed without their friends, without their train of attendants. Old men and women of distinction wandered about in the dark, they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greatest part took shelter with their friends, and where the meanest of their dependants lived, that place they thought the safest refuge.

LXXXII. THE madness of the soldiers was not to be controuled. They burst the palace gates, and rushed forward to the banqueting room, with outrageous clamour demanding a sight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the præfect of the legion, endeavoured to oppose the torrent,



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torrent, and were both wounded in the fray. Nothing was to be seen but the flash of arms, and nothing heard but threats and denunciations of vengeance, now against the centurions, and, at times, against the whole body of the senate. The soldiers neither knew the cause nor the object of their phrenzy, and, having no particular victim in view, they resolved to lay a scene of general slaughter. They forced their way into the apartment of the prince. Otho, forgetting his own rank and the majesty of empire, stood up on his couch, with tears and supplications imploring the soldiers to desist. He prevailed at length. The men retired to the camp, with a fullen spirit, and guilt at their hearts. On the following day Rome had the appearance of a city taken by assault. The houses were shut, the streets deserted, the populace in a general panic. The soldiers wandered about, in a fullen mood, with looks of discontent, rather than repentance. The two præfects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the several companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in soothing terms, or in a style of reproach. A distribution of five thousand sesterces to each man concluded the business. The tumult over, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their rank, praying to be dismissed from the service, that they might retire to live in ease and safety. The soldiers felt the request as a reproach for their own conduct. Remorse and sorrow took possession of every mind. They expressed their willingness to return to their duty, and, of their own motion, desired to see the authors of the insurrection brought to punishment.

LXXXIII. IN this delicate conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a discordant soldiery heightened the distraction, Otho felt that he had a difficult game to play. All, who  
wished

wished well to the service, called for an immediate reform of the army; while, on the other hand, the loose and profligate, always the greatest number, liked nothing so well as tumult and insurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader. To such minds Otho knew that the strongest motives to a civil war, are the hopes of growing rich by the spoils of the public; nor was he to learn, that power, obtained by guilt, is incompatible with a new system of laws and the rigour of ancient manners. But still the danger, that hung over the city and the Roman senate, filled him with anxiety. In this alarming situation, he spoke to the following effect:

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“ I come not now, my fellow-soldiers, to excite your zeal for  
“ me, and the cause in which we are engaged; much less do I  
“ come to add new ardour to your courage. Both are too well  
“ known: they need no incentive. Perhaps some restraint may  
“ be necessary; perhaps the zeal, that pervades you all, requires  
“ a degree of moderation. In the late tumult, it was not the love  
“ of plunder, nor ill-will to any man, or any set of men, that  
“ urged you on. From those motives, discord and mutiny have  
“ often broke out in various armies; but upon your conduct  
“ they had no effect. Nor was there in that transaction any fear  
“ of danger, or so much as a wish to renounce your duty. It  
“ was your regard for me, sincere indeed, but generous to excess,  
“ that hurried you on to acts of intemperance, and even violence.  
“ You listened to your passions, but not to your judgment; and  
“ where judgment does not direct and guide, the best counsels  
“ and the best cause are often ruined. We are going forth to a  
“ great and important war. And must all intelligence be commu-  
“ nicated to the army? Must every secret be disclosed? And  
“ must councils of war be held in a public assembly of the soldiers?  
“ The reason of things, and the opportunity which must be  
I “ seized



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“ seized at once, or lost for ever, will not allow a mode of proceeding so slow and dangerous to the service. To know some things is the duty of the soldier; in others, not to be informed is his happiness, and submission is his virtue. Even the tribunes and centurions must often receive their orders, without a reason assigned: to know the motives that weigh with the general, is not their province; to obey is the duty of the inferior officer. If every subaltern may discuss the operations of war, and cavil with the commander in chief, subordination ceases, discipline is at an end, and the best concerted enterprise may be defeated. And are we now to imagine, that the soldier, when the enemy is at hand, may seize his arms, and, as caprice or fancy prompts, fall forth in the dead of night? Shall two or three drunken men (in the last night’s fray, I do not believe there were more) imbrue their hands in the blood of their officers? Shall they murder the centurions, and, in a fit of phrenzy, rush to the pavilion of their general?

LXXXIV. “ You, my fellow-soldiers, have transgressed the bounds of your duty; the fact must be admitted; but your zeal for me was the cause. And yet, reflect for a moment, what might have been the consequence? Amidst that general uproar, in the gloom of midnight darkness, the assassin’s blow might have been aimed at me, whom you wished to defend. Give Vitellius his option; let him and his rebel soldiers have the power of choosing, and what greater curse could they invoke? what calamity could they call down upon us, so much to be dreaded, as a turbulent and factious spirit, and all the evils of discord and sedition? Let the soldier refuse to obey his centurion; let the centurion shake off the authority of the tribune; let the cavalry and the foot soldiers be intermixed, without order or distinction; and let us all, in one promiscuous body,

“ body, go forward to the war. Need our enemies wish for more?  
 “ We should rush on sure destruction. It is obedience, my fel-  
 “ low soldiers, implicit, prompt obedience (*a*), without pausing  
 “ to wrangle with our superior officer, that gives to military  
 “ operations all their energy. The army that shews itself,  
 “ in time of peace, attentive to discipline and good order,  
 “ is sure to be the most formidable in the day of battle. It is  
 “ yours to arm in the cause of your country, and to face the enemy  
 “ with heroic valour: be it mine to form the plan of operations,  
 “ and, in the execution, to direct and guide the courage of the  
 “ army. The guilt of last night extends to a few only; and  
 “ of those few, two only shall expiate the offence. That done, let  
 “ us bury in oblivion the horrors of that shameful tumult; and  
 “ may no other army hear those dreadful imprecations uttered  
 “ against a Roman senate. Against that venerable body, the  
 “ head of the empire, and the fountain, from which justice flows  
 “ through the provinces, not even Vitellius, nor his rash-levied  
 “ crew of Germans, would dare to meditate so vile a deed.

“ And can there be in Italy a race of men, the genuine offspring  
 “ of Roman citizens, who are capable of so foul a parricide?  
 “ Who can lift their impious hands against the sacred order, from  
 “ whom our cause derives so much lustre, to the confusion of Vi-  
 “ tellius, and the scum of nations that follows him to the field?  
 “ Some states, it is true, have been induced to join his standard;  
 “ he has the appearance of an army; but the senate is on our side.  
 “ The commonwealth is with us; our enemies are the enemies of  
 “ Rome. And when I mention Rome, when you yourselves  
 “ behold that magnificent city, do you imagine that it consists in  
 “ walls, and buildings, and a pile of stones? Inanimate structures,  
 “ and mute and senseless edifices may moulder away, and rise  
 “ again out of their ruins: but the stability of empire depends  
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“ upon the senate : upon the safety of that august assembly, the  
 “ welfare of the community, the peace of nations, your fate and  
 “ mine are grafted. It was Romulus, the founder of the city, and  
 “ the father of the Roman state, who instituted, with solemn  
 “ auspices, that sacred order. It has subsisted in vigour from that  
 “ time ; from the expulsion of Tarquin, to the establishment of  
 “ the Cæsars, it has been preserved inviolate. We received it  
 “ from our ancestors ; let us transmit it to our posterity, unshaken,  
 “ unimpaired, immortal. From your order, from the people at  
 “ large, the senate is supplied with its brightest ornaments ; and  
 “ from the senate you derive a succession of princes.”

LXXXV. THIS speech, seasoned with reproof, yet tempered with conciliating language, was favourably received ; and the moderation of the prince, who punished only two of the mutineers, gave general satisfaction. By that lenient measure, the soldiers, too fierce to be controuled, were quieted for the present. Rome, however, was not in a state of tranquillity. A constant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were seen in every quarter. The soldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies ; but, being dispersed throughout the city, they found means, in various shapes, to insinuate themselves into houses, where they watched, with sufficient malignity, the motions and words of all, who by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the same time, that Vitellius had a number of emissaries dispersed among the populace, to act as spies, and watch the state of parties. Hence jealousy, mistrust and fear. No man thought himself safe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was still greater. Whatever was the rumour of the day, all degrees and ranks were obliged to set their faces for the occasion : if bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond ; and, if propitious,

tious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy. With events of either kind, their features were taught to comply.

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The fathers had the hardest task. Silence in the senate might be thought fullen discontent, and liberty of speech might be deemed a crime. Adulation itself was at a stand. Who could deceive a prince, who was but lately a private man, and, in that station, practised flattery, till he became a perfect master of that insidious art? The fathers were driven to little stratagems; they tortured every sentence into a thousand forms, and, to diversify one and the same thought, all the colours of rhetoric were exhausted. All agreed to call Vitellius a PUBLIC ENEMY AND A PARRICIDE. This was the burthen of every speech. Cautious men, who looked forward to their own security, avoided entering into particulars, content with hackneyed declamation: others, without reserve or management, poured out a torrent of virulent invective, but generally chose to rise in the midst of noise and clamour, when nothing could be distinctly heard, and the speaker could mouth and bellow, without the danger of being understood or remembered.

LXXXVI. A NUMBER of prodigies, announced from different quarters, diffused a general panic. The goddess of victory, in the vestibule of the capitol, let the reins of two horses, harnessed to her chariot, fall from her hand. A form of more than human size was seen to issue from the chapel of Juno. In an island in the Tiber (*a*), the statue of Julius Cæsar, without any apparent cause, on a day perfectly serene and calm, turned round from the west to the east. In Etruria an ox was said to have spoken: animals brought forth monstrous births, and to these was added a variety of præternatural appearances, such as in rude and barbarous ages were the coinage of superstition; and, even in pro-



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found peace, made an impression on vulgar credulity, though of late years they have so far lost their effect, that, unless it be a time of public distress, they pass away unheeded and forgotten. Amidst the omens, which seemed to threaten impending danger, an inundation of the Tiber was the most alarming. The waters swelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country. The Sublician bridge was carried away by the flood; and the ruins, that fell in, obstructing the course of the river, the torrent was driven back with such impetuous violence, that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds were covered with a general deluge (*b*). The people in the streets were swallowed up, and numbers were drowned in their shops, and in their beds. The corn in the public granaries was destroyed; a famine ensued, and the common people were reduced to the last distress. The waters, that lay for some time in the streets of Rome, sapped the foundation of several insulated houses, and when the flood fell back into its channel, the superstructure tumbled to the ground. This disaster was no sooner over, than a new occurrence spread a general terror. Otho was preparing to set out on his expedition. His way was over the field of Mars, and the Flaminian road; but both places were impassable. This circumstance, though accidental, or the effect of natural causes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the slaughter of armies and a train of public calamities.

LXXXVII. THE emperor ordered a lustration (*a*), and having purified the city, turned his thoughts to the conduct of the war. The Penine and the Cottian Alps, with all the passes into Italy, were in the possession of Vitellius and his armies. Otho resolved, therefore, to make a descent on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with a fleet well manned, and in force to keep the command of those seas. All who survived the massacre at the Mil-

vian

vian bridge, and had been, by Galba's orders, thrown into prison, were released by Otho, and incorporated with the legions. He depended on the fidelity of those men, and, by giving to others the like hopes of preferment, he inspired the whole body with zeal and ardour. In order to strengthen his fleet, he embarked the city cohorts, and a considerable detachment from the prætorian guards; a body of men capable of defending their generals by their courage, and of assisting with their advice. The conduct of the marine was committed to three officers; namely, Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, both centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a tribune degraded by Galba, but, since the death of that emperor, restored his rank. A freedman of the name of Oscus was appointed to direct the operations of the fleet, and act as a spy on better men than himself. The land forces, both horse and infantry, were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. To them was added Licinius Proculus, the præfect of the prætorians, and in him Otho reposed his whole confidence. This officer, in time of peace, discharged the functions of his station with sufficient ability; but he had seen no service, and had therefore no skill in military affairs. He had talents for mischief, and knew how to obstruct the authority of Paulinus, to check the ardour of Celsus, and to thwart the judgment of Gallus. An enemy to every excellence of those three officers, he found, as usually happens, that worth and modest merit were no match for malice and left-handed policy.

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LXXXVIII. BEFORE Otho set out from Rome, Cornelius Dolabella was, by his order, conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony (*a*), there to be kept out of the way, but not in close confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family, and his affinity to Galba. Several magistrates, and  
others



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others of consular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to assist in the war by their counsels or their valour, but to swell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was suffered to mix with the rest of the train, undistinguished either as the brother of one emperor, or the enemy of another. During these preparations, Rome presented a scene of hurry and confusion. No order of men was exempt from fear or danger. The principal senators, enfeebled by age, or softened by a long peace; the nobility, sunk in sloth; and the Roman knights, who had lost their warlike spirit, were all obliged to put themselves in readiness. They assumed an air of courage, but their fears were seen through the vain disguise. Some affected to make a display of their alacrity. They bought with vain ostentation the most splendid armour, horses for parade, and all the conveniences of a luxurious table, as if such implements were a necessary part of their camp-equipage. The wise and moderate thought of nothing but their own safety and the public welfare; while the vain and senseless, whose views did not extend to remote consequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all, who were bankrupts both in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the distractions of their country that security, which, in quiet times, they had never known.

LXXXIX. THE people at large, unacquainted with the secrets of state, and of course free from solicitude, began, however, to feel the ill effects of the impending war. They saw the public revenue exhausted in the service of the army; they laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and the price was rising every day; whereas, in the troubles stirred up by Vindex, none of those inconveniences affected the city of Rome. That commotion was at a distance, a war in the remote parts of Gaul, decided

decided between the legions and the provincial insurgents. The Roman citizens looked on in perfect tranquillity, as if it were no more than a foreign quarrel. From the reign of Augustus, when that emperor established the power of the Cæsars, this had constantly been the case. The issue of every war affected the sovereign only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the worst calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus (*a*) to shake the authority of Claudius was crushed as soon as discovered. Nero was undone by rumours and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the present juncture, the face of things was changed. The pressure was felt at home. The fleets and legions were in motion, and, beyond all example, the prætorian bands and city cohorts were obliged to take the field. The east and west were engaged in the contest; the several provinces, which the leading chiefs left behind them, were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. Otho was now on the point of beginning his march. A scruple was started to deter him from proceeding, till the ceremony of depositing the sacred shields called the ANCILIA (*b*) was performed with due rites and ceremonies. He rejected the advice. Delay had been the ruin of Nero, and Cæcina by this time had passed the Alps. The time called for vigour and expedition.

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XC. ON the day preceding the ides of March, Otho called a meeting of the senate. He recommended the care of the commonwealth to the wisdom of that assembly, and ordered the property of such as had been recalled from banishment, since the death of Nero, to be restored to the respective owners. To this liberality nothing could be objected: it was an act of justice, in appearance magnificent, but of little use, as the public officers had already seized the whole into their own hands. From the



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senate Otho proceeded to harangue the people: he talked in a pompous style of the fathers, and the majesty of the Roman citizens. He mentioned the adverse party in managed terms, imputing to the legions error in judgment, rather than a turbulent and factious spirit. Of Vitellius he made no mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or more probably, because the writer of the speech, looking forward to his own safety, thought it prudent to exclude all personal invective. For the last opinion there seems to be some foundation. In all military operations, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were Otho's confidential advisers; but in matters that concerned the civil administration, Galerius Trachalus (*a*) was the person on whose talents he relied. That minister had gained reputation at the bar; and those, who were best acquainted with his mode of eloquence, and the harmony of his copious periods, discovered, in the composition of the speech, the style and manner of that celebrated orator. Otho was received with acclamations: the populace, according to custom, yielded to the impulse of the moment, full of sound and servile adulation, but nothing from the heart. You would have thought that it was Cæsar the dictator, or Augustus the emperor, for whom they contended with so much emulation. And yet, in all this shew of zeal, there was at the bottom neither love nor fear; servility was the motive; all courted the yoke, and all rushed headlong into slavery. The public, at this time, presented no better spectacle than what is seen every day in a family of domestic slaves: each individual had his own private views; and for the public interest, or the honour of the state, no care remained. Otho was now ready to depart: he left the government of Rome, and the whole weight of empire, to his brother Salvius Titianus (*b*), and proceeded on his expedition.

END OF BOOK I.

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B O O K II.





## CONTENTS OF BOOK II.

- I. *TITUS*, sent by his father *Vespasian* to congratulate *Galba*, hears of that emperor's death, and stops at *Corinth*. He resolves to return to *Syria*, and sails to *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. At the last place he visits the temple of the *Paphian Venus*; some account of the goddess, and the rites of worship. He lands in *Syria*. V. Character of *Vespasian*, and of *Mucianus*. They lay aside their mutual animosities, and act in concert. The legions of the east resolved to have a share in the making of emperors. VIII. A counterfeit *Nero* detected and seized. X. From trivial matters great discord at *Rome*. *Vibius Crispus* accuses *Annius Faustus*, an informer, and procures his condemnation, though hated himself for the same practices. XI. An account of *Otho's* forces. XII. His fleets command the sea extending to the maritime Alps. The city of *Intemelium* sacked and plundered by the *Othonians*. The exemplary courage of a mother in the protection of her son. XIV. *Otho's* fleet infests the coast of *Narbon Gaul*. An engagement with the *Vitellians* in that quarter, in which the *Othonians* have the advantage. XVI. *Pacarius*, the governor of *Corfica*, favours the cause of *Vitellius*, and is murdered. XVII. *Cæcina*, with the *Vitellian* forces, enters *Italy*, and besieges *Placentia*. *Spurinna*, one of *Otho's* officers, defends the place. *Cæcina* raises the siege, and retires with his army to *Cremona*. A battle at that place, and the *Othonians* prove victorious. *Valens* enters *Italy*. *Cæcina* resolves to strike a



*blow before the arrival of that general. He lays a snare for the Othonians, but is defeated by Suetonius Paullinus at a place called Castorum. King Epiphanes, on Ottho's side, is wounded. XXVII. Valens arrives at Ticinum. A violent sedition occasioned by the Batavians. Valens joins the army under Cæcina. XXXI. Comparison of Ottho and Vitellius. Ottho holds a council to deliberate on the plan of the war. Some are for delay; others for an immediate action. Ottho is for a decisive blow, and, by advice, retires to Brixellum. XXXIV. Cæcina and Valens wait for the motions of the enemy. A bridge thrown over the Po to amuse Ottho's forces, who are worsted in a skirmish. XXXVII. A report that both armies were inclined to peace, shewn to be highly improbable. XXXIX. Titianus, Ottho's brother, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian bands, entrusted with the chief command. They encamp within four miles of Bedriacum. Ottho, by dispatches from Brixellum, hurries them on to an engagement. XLI. The battle of Bedriacum. The Othonians defeated, and on the next day lay down their arms. The Vitellians enter the camp, and both armies embrace with tears of joy. XLV. Ottho is weary of civil war, and, though the soldiers are still devoted to his cause, resolves to prevent further effusion of blood; he falls on his own sword. His funeral immediately performed; some of the men slay themselves near the funeral pile. L. Ottho's origin and character. LI. A mutiny among his soldiers; Verginius in danger from their fury. LII. A great part of the senate, who had followed Ottho, involved in danger. LV. Tranquillity prevails at Rome. The games in honour of Ceres celebrated according to custom. Ottho's death made known in the theatre: the people declare for Vitellius with shouts of applause. LVI. Italy ravaged by the Vitellians. LVII. Vitellius advances towards Italy, and hears of the victory gained by his officers. The two Mauri-*  
*tanias*



*tianias declare in his favour; Albinus their governor cut off by the emissaries of Cluvius Rufus, who had passed over from Spain into Africa. LX. Vitellius orders the bravest of Otho's centurions to be put to death. The wild attempt of Mariccus in Gaul. In a fit of enthusiasm he calls himself a god: he is taken, and put to death. LXII. The gluttony of Vitellius: Italy exhausted to supply his voracious appetite. In his dispatches to Rome he declines for the present the name of Augustus, and wholly rejects that of Cæsar. The judicial astrologers banished out of Italy. Laws for restraining the Roman knights from appearing on the stage, or in the games of the circus. LXIII. Dolabella put to death with treachery by Vitellius. The furious temper of Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius, and the amiable character of his mother Sextilia. LXV. Cluvius Rufus arrives from Spain, and is pardoned by Vitellius. The vanquished troops still retain their ferocity. A quarrel between the Batavians and the soldiers of the fourteenth legion. LXVIII. A violent sedition at Ticinum, while Vitellius carouses at a feast. LXX. Vitellius proceeds to Cremona, and views the field of battle at Bedriacum, which was still covered with a dreadful carnage. He vies with the luxury of Nero, and marches to Bononia, still plunging into deeper debauchery, as he draws near to Rome. LXXII. A slave of the name of Geta assumes the name of Scribonianus: he is detected and put to death by order of Vitellius. LXXIV. Deliberations held in the east by Vespasian and Mucianus. The speech of Mucianus on the occasion. LXXVII. Vespasian encouraged by the responses of oracles. His consultation on mount Carmel. LXXIX. Vespasian is declared emperor, first in Ægypt, and afterwards by the army in Syria. LXXXI. The kings Sobemus, Antiochus, and Agrippa, as also queen Berenice, enter into the league. LXXXII. Plan of the war: Vespasian holds Ægypt in his possession: his son Titus carries*



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*carries on the war against the Jews: Mucianus sets out on his march towards Italy. LXXXV. The legions in Mæsia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, revolt to Vespasian, at the instigation of Antonius Primus and Cornelius Fuscus. LXXXVII. Vitellius, at the head of a prodigious multitude, all debauched by luxury, enters the city of Rome. XC. He makes a speech, in pompous terms celebrating his own praise. His conduct there. XCII. Cæcina and Valens carry on the administration. Sloth, riot, and mortality among the soldiers. Vitellius in want of money, and yet prodigal beyond all measure. Asiaticus, his freedman, amasses enormous wealth. XCV. The people distressed, and yet the birth-day of Vitellius celebrated with pomp and profusion. The emperor performs the funeral obsequies of Nero. Rumours of a revolt in the east ineffectually suppressed. Vitellius sends for succours into Spain, Germany, and Britain, but endeavours to disguise the necessity. XCIX. Parties of the enemy advance into Italy. Cæcina and Valens ordered to take the field. Cæcina's treachery: he combines with Lucilius Bassus, the commander of the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum.*

*These transactions passed in a few months after the death of Galba. and Vinius his colleague in the consulship.*

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*M. Salvius Otho, Salvius Otho Titianus.  
L. Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.  
Cælius Sabinus, T. Flavius Sabinus.  
T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus.*

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B O O K II.

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I. **F**ORTUNE was already preparing, in another quarter of the world, to open an important scene, and to produce to mankind a new imperial family, destined, at first (*a*), to flourish in prosperity, and, in the end, after a disastrous reign, to fall by a dreadful catastrophe. While Galba still possessed the sovereign power, Titus, by order of Vespasian, his father, set out from Judæa, with congratulations to that emperor, and, as was natural, with the ambition of a young man, eager to begin the career (*b*) of public honours. The common people, according to their custom, found deeper reasons for the journey. Titus, they believed, was to be adopted heir to the empire, and what they believed they took care to circulate. The advanced age of Galba,

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Galba, and his want of issue, gave colour to the story; and the busy spirit of the populace relied on vain conjecture, impatient to decide what still remained in suspense. The character, and personal accomplishments of Titus, added weight to the report. He had talents for the highest station, and to the dignity of his stature united a graceful mien and amiable countenance. The success, that attended the exploits of the father, threw a lustre round the son: oracular responses (*c*) foretold the grandeur of the family; and, while the minds of men stood ready for the reception of every rumour, even trifling incidents, the mere result of chance, confirmed the popular opinion. At Corinth in Achaia, Titus received intelligence of the death of Galba, and, at the same time, undoubted assurances, that Vitellius, at the head of powerful armies, was in motion to claim the empire. In this posture of affairs, he called a council of select friends. The conjuncture was alarming, and to choose among difficulties, was all that was left. “If he proceeded on his way to Rome, the  
“homage intended for a prince now no more, would have no  
“merit with his successor; and to remain a hostage in the custody  
“of Otho, or Vitellius, would, most probably, be his lot. On the  
“other hand, if he returned to Judæa, that cold indifference  
“would give umbrage to the conqueror; and yet, while the issue  
“of the war was still uncertain, the conduct of a young man  
“would admit of alleviating circumstances in the opinion of  
“the prince, whom Vespasian should think proper to join. Above  
“all, it was possible that Vespasian might declare himself a can-  
“didate: in that case, petty offences would be of little conse-  
“quence, when all were to be involved in a general war.”

II. AFTER balancing the motives on every side, and fluctuating for some time between opposite passions, hope, at length, prevailed, and Titus returned to Judæa. A change so sudden  
was

was by some imputed to his love of queen Berenice (*a*). It is true, that princess had engaged his affections; but the business of his heart never interfered with the duties of his station. Youth being the season of pleasure, Titus gave a loose to those desires, which he afterwards so well knew how to regulate. In his own reign he was remarkable for that self-controul, which he never practised under his father. He set sail from Corinth, and after steering along the coast of Achaia and Asia, which lay to the left, he directed his course towards Rhodes and Cyprus. From those islands he went, by a more bold navigation (*b*), across the open sea to the coast of Syria. At Cyprus curiosity led him to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous for the worship paid by the inhabitants, and the conflux of strangers, who resorted thither from all parts. If we take this opportunity to trace the origin of that singular worship (*c*), and to describe the situation of the temple, and the form of the Goddess, differing entirely from what is seen in any other place, the digression will, perhaps, be neither tedious, nor unacceptable to the reader.

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III. THE founder of the temple, if we believe ancient tradition, was king AERIAS; a name ascribed by some writers (*a*) to the goddess herself. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was built and dedicated by king Cinyras (*b*), on the spot, where the goddess, after emerging from her native waves, was gently wafted to the shore. The science of divination, we are told, was of foreign growth, imported by Thamiras (*c*), the Cilician, and by him established with mysterious rites and ceremonies. In consequence of this institution, it was settled, by mutual compact, between the priest and Cinyras, the king of the island, that the sacerdotal function should be hereditary in the descendants of their respective families. In process of time, the race of Thamiras, willing that the sovereign should be distinguished by a



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superior prerogative, resigned into the hands of Cinyras the whole conduct of the mysteries, of which their ancestors were the original founders. A priest of the royal line is, at present, the only person consulted. For victims, to be offered as a sacrifice, animals of every species are allowed, at the option of the votarist, provided he chooses from the male kind only. Discoveries made in the fibres of kids are deemed the best prognostics. The altar is never stained with blood, and, though exposed to the open air, never moistened (*d*) by a drop of rain. Supplications and the pure flame of fire are the only offerings. The statue of the goddess bears no resemblance to the human form. You see a round figure, broad at the base, but growing fine by degrees, till, like a cone, it lessens to a point. The reason (*e*), whatever it be, is not explained.

IV. TITUS viewed the wealth of the temple, the presents of eastern kings, and the collection of rarities, which the genius of the Greeks, fond of tradition and the decorations of fabulous narrative, affected to trace from remote antiquity. He then consulted the oracle about his future voyage. A calm sea and a safe passage were promised. He flew a number of victims, and, in terms properly guarded, attempted to pry into his own destiny. The priest, whose name was Sostratus, explored the entrails of various animals, and, finding that the goddess was propitious, answered, for the present, in the usual style, but afterwards, at a secret interview, laid open a scene of glory. Titus, with a mind enlarged, and swelling with vast ideas, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father. The armies and provinces of the east were at that time wavering; but the presence of Titus inspired them with vigour and alacrity. Vespasian had almost brought the Jewish war to a conclusion. Nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem (*a*); an arduous enterprise, which threatened great toil and

and difficulty, not on account of the strength or resources of the enemy, but by reason of a hill almost inaccessible, and what was still more hard to conquer, the stubborn genius of superstition. Vespasian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the service, and eager against the enemy. Mucianus, in a province where profound tranquillity was established, was at the head of four legions, not, as usual in time of peace, relaxed in indolence, but animated by the gallant exertions of the army under Vespasian, and fired with a spirit of emulation. Having no enemy to oppose, they were not made soldiers in the field; but their spirit was roused, and, being unimpaired by fatigue, they were ready for a vigorous campaign. The two commanders had an additional force of auxiliary horse and foot, besides a naval armament on the coast, and the support of all the neighbouring kings. Add to this, their own military character was a tower of strength. Both stood high in reputation, but for different reasons, and for qualities peculiar to each.

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V. VESPASIAN possessed all the requisites that form a soldier and an officer. Prompt and zealous in the service, he was often seen at the head of a march; he went in person to mark out the ground of his camp, and, by night as well as day, he kept the enemy in a constant alarm, planning his measures with judgment, and executing with vigour. To his diet he paid no regard, content with whatever came before him. In his apparel, plain and simple, he was scarce distinguished from the common men. With all this he had a leaven of avarice. Forgive that vice, and he was equal to the best generals of antiquity.

Mucianus was of a different cast. Rich and magnificent, he appeared with an air of elevation above the rank of a private citizen. An able orator, and versed in civil business, he laid his schemes



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with judgment: the politician appeared in all his measures. In the two men was seen a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities. By weeding out the vices of each, and uniting their virtues, the commonwealth would have had an accomplished prince. Situated as they were in contiguous provinces, Vespasian in Judæa, and Mucianus in Syria, they beheld each other, for some time, with the jealousy of rivals. The death of Nero put an end to their dissensions. From that time they began to act in concert. Their mutual friends made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and, by the address of Titus, a mere cessation of animosities was turned into a lasting peace. The power of winning the affections of men was in an eminent degree the talent of that young officer. Nature and art conspired to render him acceptable to all; and even Mucianus could not resist his influence. The tribunes, the centurions, and the common men were, by various artifices, fixed in the interest of the two commanders. The diligent met with encouragement, the licentious with indulgence, and, according to the bent of each man's disposition, all were secured by their virtues or their vices.

VI. BEFORE the arrival of Titus, both armies had sworn fidelity to Otho, with the precipitation of men who had quick intelligence of all that passed at Rome. They were not, in that juncture, ripe for a revolt. Preparations for a civil war are in their nature slow and difficult. The east had been composed by a long peace, and now, for the first time, began to think of mixing in the feuds that shook the empire. They had hitherto seen the convulsions of the state at a distance only. The quarrel always broke out in Gaul or Italy, and was there decided by the forces of the west. It is true, that Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, and Anthony, carried the war across the Mediterranean, and had reason to repent. Syria and Judæa heard of the Cæsars, but seldom

feldom saw them. The legions, undisturbed by sedition, had no war upon their hands. Embroiled at different times with the Parthians (*a*), they had a few slight conflicts, with doubtful success, and passed the rest of the year in profound tranquillity. In the late civil war (*b*), when every part of the empire was in motion, the east was perfectly quiet. Galba obtained the sovereignty, and the oriental legions acquiesced; but it was no sooner known that Otho and Vitellius were engaged in an impious war against their country, than they began to shake off their pacific temper. They saw the supreme authority in the hands of other armies, who granted it away at their own pleasure, and reaped the profits of every revolution, while the soldiers of the east had nothing but a change of servitude, condemned, at the will of others, to submit to new masters.

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Discontent and loud complaints were heard throughout the army. The common men began to survey their strength and numbers. They reckoned seven legions (*c*), besides a large body of auxiliaries. Syria and Judæa were in their possession. Ægypt had two legions at their service. Cappadocia and Pontus afforded ample resources; and the forces that lined the frontier of Armenia, stood ready at their beck. Asia, and the rest of the provinces, were provided with men and money. In a word, the islands, and the sea that surrounds them, were under their command; and the Mediterranean, while it separated them from the rest of the empire, left them at leisure to prepare for war.

VII. THE zeal of the soldiers was no secret to the commanders in chief; but they judged it best to wait the issue of the war in Europe; aware that, between the victor and the vanquished, a sincere coalition never can succeed, and whether fortune favoured the arms of Otho or Vitellius, the consequence in either event would



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would be the same. And if the pride of victory is apt to corrupt the ablest generals, from the present chiefs what was to be expected? Their own vices would destroy them. Discord, sloth, and luxury would be the ruin of both: one would be undone by the fate of war, and the other by success. For these reasons it was agreed to suspend all military operations. Vespasian and Mucianus, lately reconciled to each other, concurred in this opinion, which had been beforehand adopted by their friends. Men of principle gave their advice with a view to the public good; others looked for their own private advantage; and public confusion was the only resource of such as, in their domestic affairs, saw nothing but distress and ruin. One mind, one spirit pervaded the whole army. Good and evil motives conspired, and, for different reasons, war became the passion of all.

VIII. ABOUT this period of time, a report that Nero was still alive, and actually on his way to the provinces of the east, excited a general alarm through Achaia and Asia. The accounts of that emperor's death (*a*) had been so various, that conjecture had ample materials. Hence numbers asserted that Nero survived the fury of his enemies, and they found credulity ready to believe them. In the course of this work the reader will hear of various pretenders, and the fate that attended them. The impostor who now took upon him to personate that emperor, was a slave from Pontus, or, according to some writers, a freedman from Italy, who played with skill on the harp, and had a musical voice. With those talents, and a countenance that resembled Nero, he was able to impose on vulgar minds. By the force of promises he drew to his party a number of deserters, whom their poverty induced to lead a vagrant life. With this crew he put to sea, but was thrown by adverse winds on the isle of Cythnus. At that place he fell in with a party of soldiers

on their return from the east. Some of these he lifted; and such as refused, he ordered to be put to death. Having plundered the merchants, and armed the stoutest of their slaves, he endeavoured to seduce Sifenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the island of Cythnus, on his way to greet the prætorian bands in the name of the Syrian army, and, in token of friendship, to present two right hands clasping each other. Apprehending danger from so bold an adventurer, Sifenna made his escape from the island. A general panic seized the inhabitants. Numbers rejoiced to find the name of Nero once more revived, and, hating the new system, wished for nothing so much as another revolution.

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IX. THE fame of this pretended Nero gained credit every day, when by a sudden accident the illusion vanished. It happened that Calpurnius Asprenas, whom Galba had appointed governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, arrived, on his way to those provinces, at the isle of Cythnus, with two galleys from the fleet that lay at Misenum. The commanders of the ships were summoned, in the name of Nero, to attend their lawful prince. The impostor continued to act his part. He received the naval officers with an air of dejection, and, by the duty, which they owed him, implored their assistance, and safe conduct either to Syria, or to Ægypt. The masters of the galleys, alarmed at the proposal, or intending to deceive, desired time to prepare the minds of their sailors, faithfully promising to return without delay. Asprenas, duly informed of all that passed, gave orders to attack the impostor and his crew of adherents. The ship was seized, and the pretended emperor, whoever he was, suffered death. The air of the man, his eyes, his hair, and the ferocity of his countenance (*a*), bore a strong resemblance to Nero. His body was conveyed to Asia, and afterwards sent to Rome.

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X. IN a city, distracted by internal discord, and, after so many revolutions, fierce with a spirit of liberty that led to the wildest anarchy, no transaction, however trifling in itself, could pass, without exciting violent commotions. Vibius Crispus, a man for his wealth, his power, and his talents, always ranked among the most eminent citizens, but never for his virtues numbered with the good, cited to the bar of the senate, Annius Faustus, a Roman knight, and in the reign of Nero an informer by profession. In the beginning of Galba's reign, it was ordained by a decree, that all causes against the race of public accusers should be fairly heard. This law, however salutary, was forced to yield to the temper of the times; it was enforced, or relaxed, as the person accused happened to be of weight and consequence, or poor and friendless: it was, notwithstanding, still in force; and Crispus, availing himself of it, exerted all his influence to ruin the man, who had been the prosecutor of his brother (*a*). In the senate his party was strong and powerful. Without hearing the criminal, the fathers were for condemning him to immediate execution. The violence of this proceeding stirred up an opposition. A party was formed against the overgrown power of the prosecutor. They insisted that the specific charge should be exhibited, and a day fixed, when the delinquent, however guilty, should be allowed the common right of being heard in his defence. This motion was carried, and the hearing of the cause was adjourned for a few days. The trial, at length, came on, and Faustus was condemned, but not with that universal assent of the people, which a life of iniquity might have warranted. The accuser, it was well known, had been concerned in the conduct of prosecutions, and received the profits of his trade. Men rejoiced to see the punishment of a crime so dangerous and detestable; but the triumph of a notorious offender gave disgust.

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XI. MEANWHILE, the affairs of Otho wore a favourable aspect. The armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia were on their march to join him. A detachment of two thousand advanced by rapid marches, while the main body followed at moderate distances. The legions, that composed this force, were the seventh, which had been raised by Galba; the eleventh, the thirteenth, and fourteenth, all veterans in the service, and the last in great renown for the vigour with which they quelled the insurrection in Britain (*a*), and still more famous for the choice made by Nero, who had selected that corps as the best in the empire. They remained, to the last, faithful to that emperor, and, after his death, declared with equal zeal in favour of Otho. Knowing their own strength, they were inspired with confidence, but a confidence that made them judge for themselves, and proceed on their march by slow journeys, as their humour prompted. The cavalry and auxiliary cohorts came forward with more alacrity.

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The troops, that marched from Rome, were a formidable body. They consisted of five prætorian cohorts, several squadrons of horse, and the first legion. To these were added two thousand gladiators; a resource altogether ignoble, but in civil commotions often employed by generals of the first reputation. Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna (*b*) were sent at the head of this whole force, with orders to take post on the banks of the Po. The first intention was to keep the enemy locked up in Gaul; but that project proved abortive, Cæcina having already passed the Alps. Otho followed with a select body of the prætorian guards, and all the veterans of that corps, with the city cohorts, and a prodigious number draughted from the marines. On the march he betrayed no symptom of sloth (*c*), no passion for luxury: he advanced on foot, at the head of the colours, covered with an iron breast-



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plate, rough and soldier-like, exhibiting a striking contrast to his former character.

XII. IN this posture of affairs, fortune seemed to open a flattering prospect. Otho was master of the greatest part of Italy, and his fleets had the command of the sea. To the foot of the maritime Alps (*a*) the country was in his possession. To pass over those mountains, and make a descent on Narbon Gaul, was the measure which he had projected. To conduct that expedition he appointed Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacencis. The last was loaded with irons by his own soldiers. Antonius Novellus lost all authority; and Suedius Clemens, proud of his rank, but not knowing how to maintain it, yielded too much to the humours of the men. He preserved no discipline, and yet was eager for action. His army presented no appearance of men marching through their own country. They forgot that Italy was their native soil, and that the lands and houses belonged to their fellow citizens. Regardless of the Roman name, they laid waste the country with fire and sword; they pillaged, destroyed, and plundered, as if the war had been in a foreign realm, against the enemies of their country. The wretched inhabitants were oppressed by men, against whom, having entertained no fear, they had prepared no defence. The fields were covered with grain and cattle; the houses were open; and the owners, with their wives and children, went forth, in the simplicity of their hearts, to meet the army. In the midst of peace, they were surrounded with all the horrors of war. Marius Maturus was, at that time, governor of the maritime Alps. He resolved to dispute the passage with Otho's troops, and, for that purpose, armed the youth of the country. In the first encounter, the mountaineers were either cut to pieces, or put to the rout. A

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band of rustics, suddenly levied, and ignorant of military discipline, could not make head against a regular army. Expecting no fame from victory, they feared no disgrace from an ignominious flight.

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XIII. AN opposition, so rash and feeble, served only to exasperate the Othonian soldiers. They fell with fury upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. The late victory was a fruitless advantage, affording neither spoil nor plunder. The peasants had no property, and their arms were of no value. Even prisoners of war could not be made. The fugitives knew the course of the country, and were too swift of foot. Enraged at the disappointment, the soldiers wreaked their vengeance on the innocent inhabitants of Intemelium, and glutted their avarice with the effects of innocent men. Amidst the barbarities committed on this occasion, a Ligurian woman gave a noble example of courage and maternal affection. She had concealed her child from the fury of the slaughtering sword. The soldiers, fully persuaded that she had deposited her treasure in the same place, stretched her on the rack, and pressed the unhappy mother to tell where she had secured her son. She laid her hand on her womb, and "here," she said, "here my child is sheltered." From that moment, unmoved by menaces, and un subdued by torture, she never changed her tone. Nothing could conquer that generous obstinacy. She died a bright example of undaunted virtue.

XIV. MEANWHILE, Fabius Valens received intelligence, that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with intent to invade that province, which had already embraced the interest of Vitellius. The adjacent colonies, by their deputies, sued for protection. Valens dispatched two Tungrian cohorts, four squadrons of horse, with the whole cavalry of the Treviri,



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under the command of Julius Claſſicus; reſerving, however, a ſufficient detachment from thoſe forces, to garrifon the port of Forojulium, that the colony might not, while the troops marched up the country, lie expoſed to ſudden incuſſions from the fleet. This arrangement being made, Claſſicus marched in queſt of the enemy, at the head of twelve troops of horſe, and a ſelect body from the cohorts. To theſe were added the Ligurian cohort; which had been uſually quartered at Forojulium, and five hundred men from Pannonia, not yet ranged in companies under diſtinct and regular colours. Neither ſide declined an engagement. The diſpoſition made by Otho's officers was as follows: A body of marines, intermixed with the peaſantry, took poſt on the heights near the ſea. The level ſpace between the hills and the coaſt was occupied by the prætorian ſoldiers; and, to ſupport them, the fleet ſtood in cloſe to the ſhore, drawn up in order of battle, and preſenting a formidable line. The ſtrength of the Vitellians, conſiſting in cavalry, was ſtationed in front; the infantry cloſe embodied in their rear, and their Alpine mountaineers on the ridge of the neighbouring hills. The Treverian ſquadrons began the attack with leſs ſkill than courage. The veterans of Otho's army received the attack in front, while their peaſants, from the high grounds, diſcharged a volley of ſtones, and, being expert flingers, annoyed the enemy in flank. They mixed in the lines with the regular ſoldiers, and performed feats of valour. In the moment of victory, there was no diſtinction between the coward and the brave; all purſued their advantage with equal ardour. The Vitellians were thrown into diſorder; and, being driven towards the margin of the ſea, they were there attacked in the rear by the ſoldiers belonging to the fleet. This was a danger unforeſeen. Hemmed in on every ſide, they muſt have been to a man cut off, if the night had not come on in time to favour.

favour their retreat, and restrain the victorious army from pursuing them in their flight.

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XV. THE Vitellians, though defeated, still retained their warlike spirit. With a reinforcement drawn together in haste, they returned to the charge; and, finding the enemy elate with joy, and by success lulled into security, they assaulted the outposts, put the advanced guard to the sword, and forced their way into the camp. The Othonians were struck with terror, and near the fleet all was tumult and disorder. The surprise, however, soon began to subside. The Othonians betook themselves to an adjacent hill, and, having there collected their strength, rushed down with impetuous fury. A dreadful slaughter followed. The Tungrian cohorts stood the brunt of the action, till their commanding officers fell under a shower of darts. The Othonians conquered, but their victory was dearly bought. They pursued the flying enemy with more rage than prudence; when the Treverian cavalry, wheeling round, attacked them in the rear, and put a large party to the sword. From this time the two armies remained inactive. As if a truce had taken place, and both sides had agreed by compact to suspend hostilities, and no more molest each other by sudden incursions, the Vitellians retired to Antipolis, a municipal town of Narbon Gaul, and the Othonians to Albingaunum, in the inland part of Liguria.

XVI. CORSICA, Sardinia, and the rest of the islands in those seas, were overawed by the victorious fleet, and kept in subjection to Otho. Corsica, indeed, suffered a sudden convulsion from the temerity of the governor. The name of this officer was Decimus Pacarius. Though the island, in a war carried on by such powerful adversaries, was of no importance, he endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants to the interest of Vitellius.

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The project, which would have decided nothing, ended in his own ruin. He summoned a council of the leading men, and communicated his design. Claudius Phirricus, who commanded the galleys on that station, and Quinctius Certus, a Roman knight, objected to the measure, and were put to instant death. The rest of the assembly, terrified by this act of violence, swore fidelity to Vitellius. The populace, as usual, blind and ignorant, but by contagion catching the fears of others, followed the example of the leading chiefs. Pacarius began to muster his men, and train them to the use of arms. A race of rude and vulgar peasants, who had no relish for the fatigue of military discipline, began to consider the nature of their situation, and their inability to support a war. "They were islanders, remote from Ger-  
" many, and out of the reach of the legions. The fleets of  
" Otho commanded the seas, and had lately ravaged the mari-  
" time countries, though defended by the cohorts and cavalry of  
" Vitellius." This reflection produced a sudden change in every mind. They resolved to assert their independance, not with open force, but by covert stratagem, and, for that purpose, to lie in wait for their opportunity. Pacarius, as soon as his train of visitors left him, retired to his bath. In that moment the conspirators fell upon him naked and disarmed. He was put to instant death, and his attendants suffered the same fate. Their heads, like those of traitors, were conveyed to Otho. And yet the assassins were neither rewarded by that prince, nor punished by Vitellius. In the mass of atrocious deeds that disgraced the times, petty villanies were suffered to pass with impunity.

XVII. THE cavalry, called the SYLANIAN SQUADRON, had, as already mentioned (*a*), forced their way into Italy, and there fixed the seat of war. In the conduct of these men nothing proceeded from principle. They had no regard for Otho, nor  
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so much as a wish to serve Vitellius; but, their vigour being relaxed by a long peace, and their minds debased and prepared for slavery, they stood ready to stretch their necks to the yoke, whatever hand imposed it, in their choice of a master wholly indifferent. The fairest portion of Italy (*b*), extending from the Po to the Alps, with all its fertile plains and flourishing cities, was in the possession of Vitellius; the forces sent forward by Cæcina having already penetrated into that quarter. At Cremona a Pannonian cohort laid down their arms; and between Placentia and Ticinum a party of a hundred horse, with a thousand marines, were made prisoners. In this tide of success nothing could withstand the vigour of the Vitellians. The Po opposed its stream and its banks in vain. To the Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, the river was no more than a new motive to inflame their ardour. They passed over with their usual rapidity under the walls of Placentia, and in sight of the enemy. Having gained a footing on the land, they intercepted the enemy's scouts, and spread such a general panic, that all who escaped their fury fled with precipitation, announcing the arrival of Cæcina and his whole army.

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XVIII. SPURINNA, who commanded at Placentia, was well informed of Cæcina's motions. He knew him to be still at a distance; and, if at any time he should shew himself before the place, he had taken his measures. Three prætorian cohorts, and no more than a thousand vexillaries, with a small body of horse, would be ill opposed to a veteran army. He resolved, therefore, to remain within his fortifications. But an unruly soldiery, fierce and unskilled in military operations, was not to be restrained. They seized the colours, and sallied forth in a body. The general endeavoured in vain to check their violence; the men pointed their weapons at his breast; they spurned at the



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the tribunes and centurions, who extolled the wisdom of their superior officer; they rejected all advice, declaring aloud that treason was at work; they were betrayed: and Cæcina was invited to take possession of the place. Spurrinna was obliged to yield to this sudden phrensy, and even to proceed on the march. He went forth against his will, but with a shew of approbation, in hopes, if the sedition died away, that he might then resume his former authority.

XIX. THE soldiers pushed on with spirit, till the Po appearing in sight, and night coming on, they halted for the first time. It was now judged necessary to fortify a camp. Labour and castrametation were new to men who had only served within the walls of Rome. Their ferocity abated, and they began to see their error. The veterans in the service condemned their own credulity, and pointed out to their comrades the common danger of all, if Cæcina, with a numerous army, had come up in time to surround them in a wide champaign country. Throughout the ranks nothing was heard but penitence and submission. The tribunes and centurions regained their influence, and all were loud in praise of their general, who had, with judgment, chosen a strong and powerful colony for the seat of war. Spurrinna seized his opportunity, choosing rather to convince by reason, than to irritate by reproof. Having quelled the sedition, he left some flying parties to watch the motions of the enemy, and, with an army now disposed to obey his orders, marched back to Placentia. The fortifications of the place were repaired; new works were added; towers were constructed; the soldiers were provided with arms; and, what was of greater moment, a spirit of discipline and prompt obedience was diffused through the army. This was, no doubt, an essential service. Want of courage could not be imputed to Otho's party. Inattention  
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to their superior officers was the disadvantage under which they laboured.

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XX. CÆCINA advanced into Italy with a well conducted army, observing in his march the strictest discipline, as if on the other side of the Alps he had left his cruelty and love of plunder. His dress gave offence to the colonies through which he passed. His mantle, decorated with various colours, passed for a mark of arrogance; and his drawers (*a*), used only by savage nations, did not agree with the ideas of a Roman citizen. Besides this, the splendid appearance of his wife, Salonina, mounted on a superb horse, adorned with purple ornaments, though in itself a matter of no importance, and certainly injurious to no person whatever, was held to be a public insult. Such is the nature of the human mind, disposed at all times to behold with jealousy the sudden elevation of new men, and to demand, that he, who has been known in an humble station, should know how to rise in the world with temper and modest dignity. Cæcina passed the Po, and by negotiation and artful promises endeavoured to seduce the leaders of Otho's party. The like insidious game was played against himself. Both sides talked of peace and concord, but they amused each other with words of specious sound, importing nothing. Tired of fruitless artifices, Cæcina began to concert his measures for the reduction of Placentia. He determined to invest the place; and knowing how much the fame of the general, and, by consequence, the events of war, depend on the first exploit, he made every preparation to carry on the siege with vigour.

XXI. THE first approach to the town displayed the bravery, but nothing of the skill, which might be expected from a veteran army. The soldiers, intoxicated with liquor, ad-



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vanced to the foot of the walls, without shelter, or due precaution. In this attack, a magnificent amphitheatre, which stood on the outside of the fortifications, was set on fire, and levelled to the ground. Whether this was occasioned by the flaming brands and other combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, or by the like missive weapons discharged from the works, cannot now be ascertained. The vulgar herd of the city, apt and willing, like the populace in every quarter, to believe whatever malignity can invent, imputed the disaster to the neighbouring colonists, who saw with envy a spacious and magnificent structure, that surpassed every monument of art and labour throughout Italy. The sense of this misfortune, however begun, was lost in the pressure of immediate danger; but the enemy was no sooner withdrawn from the walls, than the inhabitants, in the moment of security, lamented the loss of their amphitheatre, as the worst calamity that could befall them. Cæcina was repulsed with considerable loss. The night, on both sides, was employed in necessary preparations. The Vitellians provided themselves with moving penthouses, and other warlike machines, under which the men might advance to sap the foundation of the walls. The besieged were busy in preparing stakes and rafts of timber, with huge heaps of stone and lead and brass, in order to crush the assailants under their own works. Both armies felt every motive that could rouse their valour. The love of glory, and the fear of shame, throbbed in every breast. In the camp of the Vitellians, nothing was heard but the vigour of the legions, and the fame of the German armies; within the town, the honour of the city cohorts, and the dignity of the prætorian bands, were the topics that inflamed their minds with heroic ardour. They considered the Vitellians as a set of desperate adventurers, and despised them as Barbarians, foreigners, and aliens in Italy; while, in their turn, they were held in contempt by the besiegers, as a weak enervate band,

band, who had lost every warlike principle in the circus and the theatres of Rome. Otho and Vitellius were the subject of alternate praise and calumny; but praise was soon exhausted, and for abuse each party found abundant materials.

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XXII. AT the return of day, the city and the country round displayed a scene of warlike preparation: the walls and ramparts were covered with Othonian soldiers, and the fields glittered with the blaze of hostile arms. The legions in close array advanced to the assault, and the auxiliaries in separate divisions. The attack began with a volley of stones and darts aimed at the highest part of the fortifications; and where the works were either impaired by time, or thinly manned, the Vitellians attempted a scalade. The German auxiliaries, rending the air with their savage war-songs, and, according to the custom of their country, waving their shields over their shoulders, advanced with impetuous fury; while the garrison, with deliberate aim, discharged a volley of stones and darts. In the mean time, the legionary soldiers, under their covered way, battered the foundation of the walls, and, having thrown up mounds of earth, attempted to force the gates. A pile of massy stones, which had been prepared by the besieged, was instantly rolled down with prodigious ruin: the Vitellians, crushed under the weight, or transfixes with darts, lay wounded, maimed, and mangled, at the foot of the ramparts. Horror and confusion followed. The Othonians were inspired with fresh courage. The slaughter increased; and the assailants, finding all their efforts defeated, with great precipitation, and no less dishonour, sounded a retreat. Cæcina saw the folly of an enterprise rashly undertaken. To avoid further disgrace, he resolved to raise the siege, and leave a camp, where he had nothing to expect but reproach and shame. He repassed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. He had not proceeded far, when he was joined by Turullius Cerealis,



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a centurion of principal rank, who had served under him in Germany, and also by Julius Briganticus, a Batavian by birth: the former deserted with a strong body of marine soldiers, and the latter, with a small party of horse.

XXIII. SPURINNA, as soon as he was informed of the movements of the enemy, sent dispatches to Annius Gallus, with the particulars of the siege, the gallant defence of Placentia, and the measures concerted by Cæcina. Gallus was then on his march, at the head of the first legion, to the relief of the place, little imagining that a few cohorts would be able to hold out against the strength and valour of the German army. It was, however, no sooner known that Cæcina had abandoned his enterprise, and was then proceeding to Cremona, than the spirit of the legion blazed out at once. They desired to be led against the enemy. Their impatience rose to a pitch little short of sedition. It was with difficulty that Gallus appeased the tumult. He made halt at Bedriacum (*a*), a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and unhappily famous for the slaughter of two Roman armies. About the same time the Othonians gained a second advantage over the enemy. Martius Macer fought with success near Cremona. That officer, with the spirit of enterprise that distinguished him, embarked the gladiators on the Po, and, making a sudden descent on the opposite bank, fell with fury on the auxiliaries of Vitellius. All who attempted to make head against him were put to the sword; the rest fled with precipitation to Cremona. Macer was not willing to lose by rashness the fruit of his victory. He knew that, by the arrival of fresh forces, the fortune of the day might be changed, and, for that reason, recalled his men from the pursuit. This measure spread a general discontent amongst the soldiers. It was the misfortune of Otho's party to be on all occasions infected with suspicion, and,

and, with a strange perversity, to put the worst construction on the conduct of their officers. The base of heart and petulant of tongue combined together, and with virulent invective defamed and blackened every character without distinction. Even Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, three eminent generals, did not escape the shafts of calumny. They were charged with various crimes. But the murderers of Galba were the worst incendiaries. Conscious of their guilt, and finding no respite from remorse and fear, these miscreants made it their business to embroil, to distract, and throw every thing into confusion. They gave vent to their seditious designs with open insolence, and by clandestine letters infused their venom into the mind of Otho; a mind too susceptible, always hearkening to every malignant whisper, and only guarded against men of worth and honour: in prosperity weak and irresolute; in distress collected, firm, determined; misfortune made him a better man. In his present situation, easily alarmed, and suspecting all his officers, he sent to Rome for his brother Titianus, and committed to him the whole conduct of the war. The interval was filled by Celsus and Paulinus with active enterprise and brilliant success.

XXIV. CÆCINA felt the disgrace of his late defeat, and saw with anxiety the fame of his army mouldering away. He had been roughly handled at Placentia, his auxiliaries were cut to pieces, and in every skirmish, not worthy of a particular detail, the enemy had the advantage. He likewise knew by sure intelligence that Valens was advancing with his army, and that commander might reap the laurels of the war. To prevent a circumstance so humiliating, he resolved, with more courage than judgment, to redeem his glory. With this intent he marched to a village called Castorum (*a*), distant about twelve miles from Cremona. At that place, in a wood that overhangs the



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the road, he stationed the flower of his auxiliaries in ambuscade. His cavalry had orders to take an advanced post, and, after provoking an engagement, to give ground at once, and draw the enemy forward, till an unexpected fall could be made from the woods. The stratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho's army. Paulinus took the command of the infantry, while Celsus led on the cavalry. Their men were ranged in order of battle. In the left wing were placed the vexillaries of the thirteenth legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. The high road was occupied by three prætorian cohorts, who formed the centre. The left wing consisted of the first legion, two auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides these, a thousand of the cavalry, selected from the prætorian and auxiliary bands, were kept as a body of reserve to support the broken ranks, or, if the enemy gave way, to rush on at once and complete the victory.

XXV. BEFORE the two armies came to action, the Vitellians feigned a flight. Aware of the stratagem, Celsus checked the ardour of his men, and in his turn pretended to give ground. The adverse party, as they lay in ambush, thought they saw their opportunity, and, rushing forward inconsiderately, fell into a snare. The legions flanked them from both wings; the cohorts attacked in front; and the cavalry, wheeling round with rapidity, charged in the rear. Suetonius Paulinus still kept his infantry out of the engagement. By his natural temper slow and deliberate, he chose to take his measures with precaution, rather than hazard a sudden conflict, and owe his success to the chance of war. He ordered the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his ranks to be extended; wisely judging that it would then be time to think of victory, when he had taken care not to be conquered. During this delay the Vitellians seized

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the opportunity to shift their ground. They betook themselves to the adjacent vineyards, thick with interwoven branches, and, by consequence, difficult of access. Having there, and in a wood that lay contiguous, found a safe retreat, they recovered their courage, and sallied out to attack the prætorian cavalry. The best and bravest officers of that corps were cut to pieces. Epiphanes (*a*), the eastern king, who in support of Otho's cause faced every danger, was wounded in the engagement.

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XXVI. AT length the infantry, under the command of Paulinus, entered into the action. The front line of the enemy gave way at once, and the parties that came to support them were in like manner put to the rout. Cæcina had not the judgment to act with his whole strength at once. He brought up his men in detachments; and the consequence was, that, coming forward in succession, and no where strong enough, they soon gave way, and fled with the ranks already broken. During this confusion, a violent tumult broke out in Cæcina's camp. The soldiers were enraged that the whole army was not drawn out. They seized Julius Gratus, the præfect of the camp, and loaded him with irons, on a suspicion that he held secret intelligence with his brother Julius Fronto, at that time a tribune in Otho's army, and, under a similar accusation, then confined in prison by the adverse party. Nothing now could equal the disorder and consternation that covered the whole Vitellian army. In the camp, in the field of battle, in the flight, and amongst the parties that came to support the fugitives, the confusion was such, that, if Paulinus had not founded a retreat, it was the general opinion that Cæcina, with his whole army, might have been cut to pieces. In defence of his conduct, Paulinus answered, that, seeing how much toil and labour still remained, he was not willing to expose his men, already spent with the fatigue of the day,



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day, to fresh forces kept in reserve, and ready to issue from the adverse camp. An exhausted soldiery might, in that case, be overpowered; and, if once broken, no post, no station remained behind. With this reasoning the judicious few were satisfied, but in the lower ranks of the army discontent and murmuring still prevailed.

XXVII. THE loss sustained in this engagement had no other effect on the vanquished Vitellians, than to reduce their turbulent spirit to a sense of military duty. Cæcina threw the whole blame of his defeat upon the ungovernable temper of the army, at all times more disposed to mutiny than to face the enemy. The men now saw their error, and began to submit to authority. Nor was this the case with regard to Cæcina only: the same reformation shewed itself in the camp of Fabius Valens, who was now advanced as far as Ticinum (*a*). The soldiers under his command were taught, by the late event, no longer to despise the enemy. To retrieve the honour of the army, they now were willing to behave with due submission to their general. They had been, not long before, guilty of a bold and dangerous tumult, of which, at the exact point of time, no notice could be taken, without breaking the thread of the narrative, and departing too much from the transactions under Cæcina.

It may now be proper to give an account of that insurrection. The reader will remember, that, in the war between Nero and Vindex, the cohorts of the Batavian nation separated from the fourteenth legion, then on its way to Britain; and having heard, in the city of the Lingones, of commotions in favour of Vitellius, went over to the standard of Fabius Valens. Their arrogance, from that time, knew no bounds. They paraded the camp, in every quarter, and in the tents of the legions, making it their  
boast,

boast, “that by them the fourteenth legion had been overawed; “by them Italy was wrested out of the hands of Nero; and “upon their swords the issue of the war depended.” The Roman foldiers heard thefe speeches with indignation; difputes and quarrels filled the camp, and difcipline was at an end. Valens faw his authority leffened, and knew too well, that, from clamour to aétual mutiny the tranfition is fhort and fudden.

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XXVIII. IN this pofture of affairs, Valens received advice that the Tungrians and Treverians had met with a defeat, and that Otho’s fleet was hovering on the coaft of Narbon Gaul. He took that opportunity to order a detachment of the Batavians to march to the relief of the province; intending, at the fame time, by a ftroke of policy, to divide the mutinous troops, whom, in their collective body, he found impatient of controul. This meafure gave umbrage to the reft of his army. The auxiliaries murmured, and the legions complained aloud, “that they were now to “lofe the braveft troops in the fervice. The enemy was near at “hand, and was that a time to withdraw a body of gallant fol- “diers, who had fo often fought with undaunted courage, and “fo often returned crowned with victory? If a fingle province “is of more moment than the city of Rome, and the empire is but “a fecondary confideration, why not march with the united “ftrength of the whole army? On the other hand, if Italy muft “be the theatre of war; if there, and there only, a decifive victory “can be obtained; why feparate from the army thofe gallant vete- “rans, like the foundeft limbs cut off from the body?”

XXIX. To allay this ferment, Valens went forth, preceded by his liétors. The men paid no regard to their general; they pelted him with ftones; they forced him to fly before them; they purfued with opprobrious language, accusing him of having em-



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bezzled, to his own private use, the spoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne (*a*), and the recompense due to the soldiers, for all their toil and labour. They rushed to his pavilion, pillaged his camp-equipage, and, in hopes of finding hidden treasure, pierced the ground with their spears and javelins. Valens, in the mean time, disguised like a slave, lay concealed in the tent of an officer of the cavalry. Alphenus Varus, the præfect of the camp, saw the phrensy subsiding, and, in the ebb of their passions, thought it best to let repentance take possession of them by degrees. With that intent, he gave orders to the centurions neither to visit the night watch, nor suffer the usual signals to be given by sound of trumpet. A dead silence followed. The mutineers stood covered with astonishment, wondering that no one assumed the command; they gazed at each other, and trembled at being left to themselves. By silence and resignation they hoped to give a proof of returning virtue. In the end they burst into tears, and with humble supplications implored forgiveness. Valens ventured to appear. As soon as the soldiers saw him, beyond expectation safe, unhurt, in a sordid dress, with tears starting from his eye, a mingled tumult of joy and sorrow and affection swelled in every breast. With the quick transition of passions common with the multitude, they poured forth their congratulations; and with shouts of applause placed their general amidst the eagles and standards, on his tribunal. Valens acted with well-timed moderation. No man was singled out for punishment. Afraid, however, that, by too much coolness, he might make them suspect some deep design, he thought fit to reprimand a few by name, and his resentment went no further. In the distractions of a civil war, he knew that the power of the general is never equal to the liberty claimed by his soldiers (*b*).

XXX. WHILE Valens employed his army in throwing up  
entrench-

entrenchments at Ticinum, an account of Cæcina's defeat reached the camp. The flame of sedition was ready to break out a second time. All agreed, that by the treachery of Valens they were detained from the field of battle. They resolved to linger no longer; they scorned to wait the motions of an inactive commander; they marched before the colours, and, ordering the standard-bearers to push on with alacrity, never halted, till, by a rapid march, they joined Cæcina's army. In that camp Valens was in no kind of credit. The vanquished soldiers complained, that, with an inferior force, they were left exposed to the enemy; and, by extolling the strength and valour of their new friends, they hoped to conciliate esteem, and throw from themselves the imputation of cowardice. Valens was at the head of an army, which exceeded that of Cæcina by almost double the number, and yet the latter was the favourite of the men. His liberal spirit gained him friends, and his generosity was praised by all. To the vigour of youth he united a graceful figure, and he possessed those nameless qualities (*a*), which, though of no solid value, conciliate favour, men know not why. Hence a spirit of emulation between the two commanders. Cæcina objected to his rival the sordid vices that disgraced his character; and, in return, Valens laughed at a man elate with pride and vain ostentation. And yet the two chiefs acted towards each other with disguised hostility. In their zeal for the common cause, their mutual animosities were suppressed, though not extinguished. In their letters, they treated Otho, and his licentious practices, in a style that shewed they scorned all terms of future reconciliation. The conduct of the officers in the opposite army was very different. They spoke of Vitellius with reserve; and, though his manners afforded ample materials for invective, they chose to contain themselves within the bounds of prudence.

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XXXI. It may be here observed, that, whatever were the shades of vice in the opposite characters of the contending chiefs, death, in the end, made the true distinction between them: Otho fell with glory, and Vitellius with disgrace and infamy. During their lives, men dreaded greater mischief from the unbridled passions of Otho, than from the sluggish debauchery of Vitellius. The murder of Galba made the former an object of detestation; while the latter was never charged with being the author of the war (*a*). Vitellius, by his gluttony and sensual appetites, was his own enemy; Otho, by his profusion, his cruelty, and his daring spirit, was the enemy of his country. As soon as the forces under Cæcina and Valens had formed a junction, the Vitellian party wished for nothing so much as a decisive action. Otho was not determined, which was most for his interest, a speedy engagement or a lingering war. In this state of irresolution, he called a council, when Suetonius Paulinus, an officer surpassed by no man of that age, judged it consistent with his high military character, to weigh all circumstances, and upon the whole to give a decided opinion. He contended, that to bring the dispute to an immediate issue, was the business of Vitellius; and, on the contrary, to draw the war into length, was the game that Otho ought to play. He argued as follows:

XXXII. “THE whole collected force of Vitellius is now in  
 “ Italy: the resources, which he has left behind him, are incon-  
 “ siderable. From Gaul he has nothing to expect. The spirit  
 “ of that fierce and turbulent people is still in agitation; and  
 “ while Germany, with hostile numbers, is ever ready to invade  
 “ the Roman provinces, the banks of the Rhine cannot be left  
 “ naked and defenceless. The legions in Britain have the natives  
 “ on their hands, and they are divided by the sea. Spain cannot  
 “ boast

“boast of resources. The province of Narbon Gaul has been  
 “harassed by Otho’s fleet, and is still covered with consternation.  
 “The part of Italy which lies beyond the Po. is shut in by the  
 “Alps, deprived of all relief by sea, and the armies that passed  
 “that way have made the whole country a scene of desolation.  
 “There is no place from which Vitellius can hope to be supplied  
 “with grain; and he who wants provisions, in a short time  
 “will want an army. The Germans, a brave and warlike  
 “people, constitute the strength and bulwark of the Vitellian  
 “party: protract the war, and will they be able to go through  
 “a summer campaign? The change of soil, and the heat of the  
 “climate, will relax their vigour. The war, that by strenuous  
 “efforts may be pushed to a prosperous issue, grows languid  
 “when drawn into length, and in a state of tedious suspense  
 “whole armies have mouldered away.

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“On the other hand, Otho’s party is in no want of supplies;  
 “their friends are firm, and great resources are still in reserve.  
 “Pannonia, Mæsia, Dalmatia, and the eastern provinces, are able  
 “to send numerous armies into the field. All Italy declares for  
 “Otho: Rome, the capital of the empire, is still in his possession;  
 “and, above all, he has on his side the senate and the Roman people;  
 “illustrious names, and always of the first importance, though  
 “their glory in some conjunctures has been eclipsed. There  
 “is still in reserve a store of wealth, both public and private;  
 “and riches at all times are the sinews of war, in public dissensions  
 “more powerful than the sword. The soldiers in the service of  
 “Otho are in good condition, enured to Italy, or seasoned to the  
 “heat in warmer climates. In their front the river Po is a bar-  
 “rier, and there are fortified cities, strongly garrisoned, all deter-  
 “mined to hold out to the last. Of this the gallant defence of  
 “Placentia is a sufficient proof. For these reasons, a slow and  
 “lingering



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“ lingering war is the best expedient. Pass but a few days, and  
 “ the fourteenth legion, famous for its bravery, will arrive with  
 “ a strong reinforcement of auxiliaries from Mæsia. A council  
 “ of war may then be called ; and, should it be thought advisable  
 “ to hazard a battle, Otho, in that event, may take the field with  
 “ a superior army.”

XXXIII. MARIUS CELSUS concurred in this opinion. An-  
 nius Gallus was not present. He had been hurt by a fall from  
 his horse a few days before, and was not yet recovered : but being  
 consulted by persons sent for the purpose, he acceded to the  
 counsels of Paulinus. Otho was for trying the issue of a battle.  
 His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian  
 guards, though neither of them had any military experience, did  
 what in them lay to incite a temper of itself rash and precipitate.  
 The gods, they said, and the tutelar genius of Otho, were present  
 in council, and would not fail to guide and animate the battle.  
 Such was the language of flattery. They made their poison  
 palatable, and no man presumed to administer an antidote.

To offer battle, was the result of the debate ; but whether the  
 emperor should command in person, or withdraw to a place of  
 safety, was a question still to be discussed. Celsus and Paulinus  
 gave no opinion. To expose the prince to the dangers of the  
 field, was more than they chose to hazard. That point was left  
 to the authors of the pernicious counsel already given. By their  
 advice Otho retired to Brixellum, there to reserve himself for the  
 good of the people and the majesty of empire. From this day the ruin  
 of Otho may be dated. He took with him a considerable detach-  
 ment of the prætorian cohorts, the body-guard, and a strong  
 party of horse. After their departure, the spirit of the army  
 began to droop. They suspected their officers. The prince,

to

to whom the soldiers were faithfully attached, and who, in return, confided in them, and them only, abandoned his cause, without leaving a head to direct, or a general, to whose authority the men were willing to submit.

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XXXIV. DURING these transactions, nothing of all that passed was a secret in the camp of Vitellius. From the deserters, who in civil wars are always numerous, and also from the spies, whose genius it is, while they pry into the secrets of others, to betray their own, every thing transpired. Cæcina and Valens lay in wait for the motions of an enemy, whom they saw contriving their own destruction. To plan an enterprise was unnecessary, where the best wisdom was to succeed by the folly of others. In order, however, to give jealousy to the gladiators (*a*) on the opposite bank of the Po, and, at the same time, to keep their own soldiers employed, they began to throw a bridge over the river. As a foundation for the work, they ranged in proper order a number of boats, made fast at equal distances by strong timbers, with their prows turned against the current, and by their anchors secured from driving from the spot. The cables were of a length to play in the water, in order, when the stream increased, that the vessels might be gently lifted up and down without danger or confusion. In the boat at the further extremity of the bridge, they caused a tower to be erected, which served at once to close the passage, and give the men a station, where they might, with their battering engines, prevent the approach of the enemy.

XXXV. THE Othonians also raised a tower on the opposite bank, and thence were able to annoy the enemy with massy stones and flaming brands. A small island stood in the middle of the river. The gladiators attempted to pass over in boats; but  
the



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the Germans, expert in swimming, dashed into the stream, and took possession of the place. In order to dislodge them, Macer put off with a strong party of gladiators on board his galleys; but the gladiators were not able to cope with regular soldiers; and the motion of the vessels not allowing them a firm footing, they fought at a disadvantage with men, who from the land were able to discharge their missile weapons with surer aim and more certain effect. On board the vessels all was hurry and confusion. The rowers and combatants obstructed each other. The Germans plunged into the river, and, seizing hold of the boats, boarded several, and sunk others to the bottom. The whole passed under the eye of both armies. The Vitellians looked on with joy, while the adverse party, stung with indignation, railed at Macer, whom they called the author of their disgrace.

XXXVI. THE gladiators, in such vessels as they could save, retreated from the island, and by their flight put an end to the engagement. Macer was devoted to destruction. The soldiers clamoured for his blood. One of them darted his lance, and actually wounded him, while the rest rushed on sword in hand, and would have killed him on the spot, if the tribunes and centurions had not interposed to save him from their fury. In a short time after, Vestricius Spurinna, having, by order of Otho, left a moderate garrison at Placentia, came up to the main body with the cohorts under his command. Macer was superseded, and in his place Flavius Sabinus, consul elect, was appointed; to the great joy of the common men, who saw with pleasure every change of their officers. The commanders, in their turn, saw the unruly spirit of the army, and, with reluctance, accepted a service so often disturbed by tumult and sedition.

XXXVII. I FIND it asserted as a fact, and by authors of credit,

credit, that the two armies, dreading the calamities of war, and at the same time detesting the two rival princes, whose flagitious deeds grew every day more notorious, were disposed to lay down their arms, and either to name a person worthy of the succession, or to refer that matter to the choice of the senate. This, we are told, was the consideration that weighed with Otho's generals, when they proposed to draw the war into length, and, in particular, that Paulinus acted with that motive. He was the first and most distinguished of the consular rank, the highest in military reputation, and his conduct in Britain (*a*) had given superior lustre to his name. But though it may be reasonable to admit, that a few, in that juncture, had the public good at heart, and wished to see two vile competitors, the most abandoned of mankind, postponed to a virtuous prince; it is, notwithstanding, highly improbable that Paulinus, a man of experience and consummate understanding, should, in an age so corrupt and profligate, amuse himself with hopes of finding one spark of virtue. He knew the madness of the times; and could he expect, that the same infatuated multitude, whose wickedness had kindled the flame of war, would on a sudden prefer the blessings of peace, and consent, for the repose of the world, to sheath the destructive sword? Can it be imagined, that the armies then in the field, dissonant in language, and in their manners still more discordant, could ever be brought to coalesce in one opinion? Above all, can it be supposed that the leading chiefs, a set of men immersed in luxury, overwhelmed with debts, and conscious of their crimes, would submit to any master who was not, like themselves, plunged in vice, and by gratitude for his elevation obliged to be the patron of the most pernicious citizens?

XXXVIII. THE love of power and domination seems to be an instinct of the human heart (*a*), implanted by the hand of  
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nature. Coeval with the foundation of Rome, it grew with the growth of the empire, and, in the hour of pride and grandeur, broke out with resistless violence. Before that period, while the republic was in its infancy, the equality of conditions was easily preserved. In process of time, when the pride of foreign kings was humbled, and rival nations submitted to the Roman arms, avarice began to accumulate riches, and contentions arose between the senate and the people. Factious tribunes prevailed at one time, and ambitious consuls at another. In the heart of the city, and even in the forum, the sword of discord was drawn, and those dissensions were a prelude to the rage of civil war. Caius Marius, a man sprung from the dregs of the populace, and Lucius Sylla, fierce and cruel beyond the rest of the nobility, overturned the constitution of their country, and on the ruins of public liberty established a system of tyranny and lawless power. Pompey came soon after, with passions more disguised, but no way better. From that time, the struggle has been for supreme dominion. The legions that filled the plains of Pharsalia, and afterwards met at Philippi, though composed of Roman citizens, never once thought of laying down their arms. And are we to believe that the armies of Otho and Vitellius were of a more pacific temper? They had instigations equally powerful; the same wrath of the gods pursued them; the same popular phrensy kindled the flame of discord; and the same vices conspired to urge them on to mutual slaughter. Their war, it is true, was ended by a single battle; but for that speedy issue the world was indebted, not to the virtue of the armies, but to the abject spirit of the contending princes. But these reflections on the spirit of ancient and modern times have betrayed me into a long digression. I resume the thread of my narrative.

XXXIX. FROM the time when Otho withdrew to Brixellum,  
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his brother Titianus assumed all the pride and pomp of commander in chief, but the power and real authority remained in the hands of Proculus. Celfus and Paulinus were no more than mere nominal generals. No man sought their advice. They were, in fact, superseded; serving no purpose but that of screening the folly of others, and bearing the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions could render no effectual service, while ignorance and insufficiency were preferred, and real talents lay neglected. The common men appeared with an air of alacrity, but more disposed to cavil with their generals, than to execute their orders. A sudden resolution was taken to shift their ground, and encamp within four miles of Bedriacum (*a*). They conducted their march, and chose their station, with such want of skill, that, though it was then the spring of the year, and the country round abounded with rivers, the army was distressed for want of water. The expediency of hazarding a battle became again the subject of debate. Otho, by frequent dispatches, insisted on the most vigorous measures: the soldiers called for their emperor, and with clamour demanded his presence on the day of battle. Many were of opinion, that the forces beyond the Po should be called in to reinforce the army. History has not materials to decide what would have been the most prudent measure; but it is certain, that of all possible evils they chose the worst.

XL. THEY resolved to march to the conflux of the Po (*a*) and the Addua, at the distance of sixteen miles. In this movement the soldiers presented no appearance of an army going to offer battle. They marched as if going to open a campaign, not to decide it. The measure was in direct opposition to the advice of Celfus and Paulinus. Those officers represented the danger of exposing the soldiers, fatigued by their march, and bending



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under the weight of their baggage, to the attack of an enemy unincumbered, and fresh from a march of four miles only. An army in that condition would seize their opportunity, and begin a general assault before Otho's men could form the line of battle; perhaps they were dispersed in small parties, or employed at the entrenchments. Titianus and Proculus were not to be convinced. When overcome by argument, they resorted to their orders, and the will of the prince was a decisive answer. About the same time a Numidian horseman (*b*), posting at full speed, arrived with letters from Otho, in a style of sharp reproof condemning the tedious operations of the army, and, in a peremptory tone, commanding his generals to bring on a decisive action. To a mind like his the interval of suspense was dreadful. Delay kept him in restless anxiety, and hope and fear distracted him.

XLI. ON the same day, while Cæcina was employed in throwing a bridge over the Po, two prætorian tribunes arrived to demand an interview. They were admitted to an audience; when a sudden alarm from the scouts announced the enemy at hand. The business broke off abruptly, and the intention of the tribunes was left in the dark. What their design was, whether to betray their own party, to lay a snare for the Vitellians, or to make a fair and honourable proposal, cannot now be known. Cæcina dismissed the tribunes, and made the best of his way to the camp. He found that Valens had lost no time: the signal for battle was already given, and the men were drawn out under arms. While the legions were eagerly employed in settling by lot the order in which they were to take their stations in the field, the cavalry advanced to charge the enemy, and, contrary to all expectation, were put to the rout by an inferior number. The Othonians pursued with vigour, and would have forced them to fly for shelter to their entrenchments, had not the Italic legion opposed

opposed the runaways, and sword in hand compelled them to return to the charge. Meanwhile, the rest of the army, without hurry or confusion, drew up in order of battle, unmolested by the enemy, and, in fact, without being seen: as a thick coppice, that stood between both parties, intercepted their view.

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In Otho's army nothing was seen but tumult and distraction; the chiefs without courage, or authority; the men mistrusting their officers; the ground not cleared of the baggage, and the followers of the camp mixing in the ranks. The road which they occupied was rendered so narrow, by a ditch on each side, that, even though no enemy were at hand, a march over the causeway would have been performed with difficulty. Their whole army was in confusion; some crowding about their colours; others at a loss, and running to and fro to find their proper post; all in a confused clamour, roaring for their comrades, answering to their names, and confounding one another with noise and uproar. Some, still shifting their ground, advanced to the front line; others fell into the rear; none remaining in one spot, but shifting their ground, as fear or courage happened to prompt them.

XLII. THE Othonians had scarce recovered from their surprise, when a sudden incident diffused a general joy; but a joy that tended to lull them into security, and relax their courage into languor and stupid amazement. A report was spread, that the forces of Vitellius had abandoned his cause: but from what quarter it took its origin; whether by design or chance (*a*); from the emissaries of the Vitellians, or the adverse party, has never been explained. The effect on the minds of the Othonians was altogether extraordinary. Laying aside all thoughts of coming to action, they saluted the opposite army, who stood astonished, and returned a deep and hollow murmur. Those in Otho's ranks,  
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who did not know the cause of the civility shewn by their friends, thought themselves betrayed. In that moment the Vitellians began the attack. Their army was in regular order, and their numbers were superior. The Othonians, still in disorder, and fatigued by their march, received the first impression with undaunted firmness. The place where the action grew warm being thick with trees and interwoven vine-branches, the combat varied according to the nature of the ground. They fought man to man; they engaged at a distance; they discharged their darts and missile weapons; they brought forward separate battalions, or advanced in the form of a wedge. On the high road the engagement was close and obstinate. Darts and lances were of no use. They fought hand to hand, foot to foot, and buckler against buckler. With their swords and axes they cut through helmets and breastplates. They knew one another; each individual was conspicuous to his friends and enemies; his exploits were seen by all; and every man fought, as if the issue of the war depended upon his single arm.

XLIII. UPON an open plain of considerable extent, that lay between the Po and the high road, two legions met in fierce encounter; on the part of Vitellius, the one-and-twentieth, famed for its valour, and commonly known by the name of RAPAX (*a*); on the side of Otho, the first legion, intitled ADJUTRIX, which had never been in action, and now panted for an opportunity to flesh their maiden swords. Their first attack was not to be resisted. They broke through the ranks of the one-and-twentieth, and carried off their eagle. Roused by this disgrace, the Vitellians added rage to bravery, and bore down all before them. Orphidius Benignus, who commanded Otho's legion, fell in the conflict. His men were driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of several standards. In another part of the field, the thirteenth

teenth legion was routed by the fifth, and the fourteenth was hemmed in by superior numbers. Otho's generals had long since fled the field, while Cæcina and Valens continued to exert themselves, watching every turn of the battle, and supporting the ranks in every quarter. Fresh forces came to their assistance. The Batavians, under Varus Alphenus, having cut to pieces the gladiators attempting in boats to cross the Po, came into the field, flushed with success, and charged the enemy in flank.

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XLIV. THE centre of Otho's army gave way, and fled with precipitation towards Bedriacum. A long space lay before them; the road was obstructed with heaps of slain, and the enemy hung upon their rear. In civil wars no prisoners are reserved for sale: the slaughter, for that reason, was the more dreadful (*a*). Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus fled different ways, both resolved not to return to the camp. Vedius Aquila, who commanded the thirteenth legion, by his own indiscretion exposed himself to the fury of the soldiers. He entered the camp, while it was yet broad day-light; and the very men, who were the first to turn their backs on the enemy, were now the foremost in sedition. They crowded round their superior officer with a torrent of abusive language, and offered violence to his person. They charged him with treachery, and desertion, in the true spirit of vulgar minds, transferring to others their own guilt and infamy. Titianus and Celsus owed their safety to the darkness of the night. They did not venture into the camp, till the sentinels were stationed at their posts, and the tumult was appeased by the intreaties, the advice, and authority of Annius Gallus, who had the address to make the men sensible of the folly and madness of adding to the havoc of the field by their own destructive fury. Whether the war was at an end, or to be once more renewed with vigour, he represented, in either case, the necessity of union

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among themselves. A face of sorrow and dejection covered the camp. All were hushed in silence ; all but the prætorians, who still grumbled discontent, asserting that they were defeated by treachery, not by the valour of the enemy. “ The Vitellians, “ they said, could not boast of a cheap victory. Their cavalry “ was routed, and one of their legions lost their eagle. Otho “ still survived, and the troops beyond the Po were ready to “ advance ; the legions from Mæsia were on their march ; and a “ considerable part of the army, detained at Bedriacum, had no “ share in the action. These were still in reserve ; they were not “ conquered ; and if a total overthrow was to be their lot, they “ might fall with glory in the field of battle.” With these and such-like reflections the prætorians kept their minds in agitation, by turns inflamed with anger, or depressed with fear. They saw their ruined condition ; despair succeeded, and from despair they derived courage and a spirit of revenge.

XLV. THE victorious army halted at the distance of five miles from Bedriacum. The generals did not think it advisable on the same day to attempt the enemy’s camp. Expecting a voluntary surrender, they were willing to give their men some time to repose. To encamp was not in their power. The soldiers took the field, prepared for battle, unincumbered, and of course without the means of throwing up entrenchments. Their arms and their victory were their only fortification. On the following day, the Othonians shewed a pacific disposition ; and even those, who the night before breathed nothing but war and vengeance, with one consent agreed to send a deputation to the enemy. The Vitellian leaders were willing to hearken to terms of accommodation. The deputies not returning immediately, the suspense occasioned an awful interval in Otho’s camp. Peace was at length announced, and the entrenchments were thrown open,

open. A tender scene ensued. The conquerors and the conquered embraced each other, and with mingled joy and sorrow lamented the horrors of civil war. In the same tents, relations, friends, and brothers dressed each others wounds. They now perceived that their hopes were a mere delusion, and that slaughter, sorrow, and repentance were their certain lot. Nor was there in the two armies a single person, who had not the death of a friend or a relation to lament. The body of Orphidius, the commander of a legion, after diligent search was found among the slain, and burnt with the usual solemnities. A few of the common men were buried by their friends: the rest were left to welter on the bare earth.

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XLVI. OTHO, in the mean time, having taken his resolution, waited, without fear or dejection of mind, for an account of the event. Vague and uncertain rumours reached his ear. At length the fugitives, who escaped from the field, brought sure intelligence that all was lost. The soldiers, who stood near his person, did not stay to hear the sentiments of the emperor, but broke out with impatient ardour, exhorting him to summon up his best resolution. There were forces still in reserve, and, in their prince's cause, they were ready to brave every danger. In this declaration there was no flattery: they spoke from the heart. In a fit of instinctive fury they desired to be led against the enemy; by their example the drooping spirit of their friends would be once more excited to deeds of valour. The men, who stood at a distance, stretched forth their hands in token of their assent, while such as gathered round the prince fell at his feet, and clasped his knees. Plotius Firmus distinguished himself by his zeal. This officer commanded the prætorian guards. He implored his master not to abandon an army devoted to his interest, nor to renounce a brave and generous soldiery, who had undergone so



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much, and were still ready to face every danger. “The noble  
 “mind (*a*), he said, stands a siege against adversity, while the  
 “little spirit capitulates at once. True courage grapples with  
 “misfortune, and, in the last distress, still makes head against  
 “every difficulty. The mean and abject sink down in despair,  
 “and yield without a struggle.” The soldiers fixed their eyes  
 on the prince, and with every symptom in his countenance their  
 passions varied. If he assented, they thundered forth their ap-  
 plause; if he seemed inflexible, a groan expressed the anguish of  
 their hearts. Nor was this spirit confined to the prætorians, who  
 were properly the soldiers of Otho; it extended to the detach-  
 ment sent forward by the Mælian legions. Those men with one  
 voice declared for Otho; they assured him, that the same zeal  
 pervaded their comrades, who were coming forward by rapid  
 marches, and even then had entered Aquileia. Hence it is  
 evident, that great resources still remained, and that a fierce and  
 obstinate war, uncertain in the event, and big with danger to all  
 parties, might have been renewed, and carried on with vigour.

XLVII. OTHO had weighed all circumstances: ambition was  
 at an end, and he prepared to close the scene (*a*). He addressed the  
 soldiers to the following effect: “When I behold the ardour that  
 “glows in every breast; when I consider the virtue that inspires  
 “so many gallant friends, I cannot think of exposing you again  
 “to the destructive sword; nor do I value my life at such a price.  
 “The views, which you display to me, were I disposed to live,  
 “are bright and tempting: by renouncing them, I fall with  
 “greater glory. I have made acquaintance with fortune; we  
 “have tried each other; for what length of time is not material;  
 “but the felicity, which does not promise to last, cannot be  
 “enjoyed with moderation. Vitellius began the war; he claimed  
 “the empire, and, by consequence, I was obliged to have recourse  
 “to

“ to arms. That we fought once, his ambition was the cause ; to  
 “ end the dispute by the event of one battle, and stop the effusion  
 “ of Roman blood, shall be my glory. By this conduct let poste-  
 “ rity judge of Otho. I restore to Vitellius his brother, his wife  
 “ and children. I want no revenge, I seek no lenitives to sooth  
 “ calamity. Others have held the sovereign power longer than I  
 “ have done ; with equal calmness no man has resigned it. Can  
 “ I give to the edge of the sword so many gallant soldiers ? Can  
 “ I see the armies of Rome devoted to mutual slaughter, and for  
 “ ever cut off from their country ? It is enough for me, that in  
 “ my cause you are ready to shed your blood. Let that generous  
 “ zeal attend me to my grave. I thank you for it : but you must  
 “ still survive to serve the commonwealth. For this great end,  
 “ let us agree to remove all obstacles ; I will be no bar to your  
 “ preservation ; nor will you attempt to frustrate my resolution.  
 “ When death approaches, to linger in vain discourse, is the sign of  
 “ a little spirit. The temper, with which I meet my fate, will  
 “ be seen and known by this circumstance : I complain of no  
 “ man. He who, in his last moments, can look back to arraign  
 “ either gods or men, still clings to life, and quits it with  
 “ regret.”

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XLVIII. HAVING thus declared his sentiments, he talked apart  
 with his friends, addressing each of them in gracious terms, accord-  
 ing to his rank, his age, or dignity, and advising all to depart  
 without loss of time, and make their terms with the conqueror.  
 He intreated the old men, and with the young exerted his au-  
 thority. Calm and undisturbed, serenity in his countenance, and  
 firmness in his voice, he saw his friends weep, and endeavoured to  
 repress their tears. He ordered boats or carriages for those who  
 were willing to depart. He selected all such papers and letters  
 as happened to contain expressions of duty towards himself, or



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ill will to Vitellius, and committed them to the flames. He distributed money in presents, but not with the profusion of a man quitting the world. Observing that his brother's son, Salvius Cocceianus, a youth in the flower of his age, was dissolved in tears, he endeavoured to assuage his sorrows. He commended the goodness of his heart, but his fears, he said, were out of season. " Could it " be supposed that Vitellius, finding his own family safe, would " refuse, with brutal inhumanity, to return the generosity shewn " to himself? My death will leave him without a rival, and that " very act will be a demand upon his clemency; especially, since " it is not an act of despair, but a voluntary resignation, made at " a time when a brave and generous army calls aloud for another " battle. For the good of the commonwealth I am a willing " victim. For myself I have gained ample renown, and I leave " to my family an illustrious name. After the Julian race, (a), " the Claudian, and the Servian, I am the first who transferred " the sovereignty to a new family. It becomes you, young man, " to act with courage; you must dare to live. Remember that " Otho was your uncle, but remember it with modesty, and with- " out repentment."

XLIX. AFTER this, he desired his friends to withdraw. Being left alone, he composed himself to rest, and, in a short time, began to prepare for the last act of his life. In that moment he was interrupted by a sudden uproar. The foldiers, he was told, threatened destruction to all who offered to depart, and in particular to Verginius (a), whom they kept besieged in his house. Otho went forth to appease the tumult. Having reproved the authors of the disturbance, he returned to his apartment, and received the visits of all that came to bid the last farewell: he conversed with them freely and cheerfully, and saw them depart without let or molestation. Towards the close of day, he called for a draught

of cold water, and, having quenched his thirst, ordered two poniards to be brought to him. He tried the points of both, and laid one under his pillow. Being informed that his friends were safe on their way, he passed the night in quiet. We are assured, that he even slept. At the dawn of day, he applied the weapon to his breast, and fell upon the point. His dying groans alarmed his freedmen and slaves. They rushed into the chamber, and with them Plotius Firmus, the prætorian præfect. They found that with one wound he had dispatched himself. His body was burnt without delay. This had been his earnest request, lest his head (*b*) should fall into the hands of his enemies, and be made a public spectacle. He was borne on the shoulders of the prætorian soldiers to the funeral pile. The men, during the procession, paid all marks of respect to his remains. They printed kisses on his hands, and on the mortal wound, and, in a flood of tears, poured forth their warmest praise. At the funeral pile some of the soldiers put an end to their lives; not from any consciousness of guilt, nor yet impelled by fear; but to emulate the example of their prince, and to shew themselves faithful to the last. At Bedriacum, Placentia, and other camps, numbers followed the example. A sepulchre (*c*) was raised to the memory of Otho, but of an ordinary structure, protected by its meanness, and therefore likely to last.

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L. SUCH was the end of Otho, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was born in the municipal city of Ferentum. His father was of consular rank; his grandfather had discharged the office of prætor. By the maternal line his descent was respectable, though not illustrious. The features of his character, as well in his earliest days (*a*) as in the progress of his youth, have been already delineated. By two actions of his life he stands distinguished; one, atrocious and detestable; the other,  
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great and magnanimous: the former has consigned his name to eternal infamy, and the last will do honour to his memory. History cannot descend to the frivolous task of collecting vague reports, in order to amuse the reader with a fabulous detail; but there are traditions, which have been handed down with an air of authenticity, and these I shall not take upon me to suppress or to refute. On the day when the battle was fought at Bedriacum, a bird of unusual appearance was observed to perch in a grove near Regium Lepidum (*b*), and, notwithstanding the great concourse of people, and a numerous flight of other birds, never to move from its place till Otho put an end to his life. That event no sooner happened, than it waved its wings, and vanished out of sight. The people of the village aver the fact; and according to curious observers, who made an exact computation of the time, this extraordinary phenomenon tallied exactly with the beginning of the battle and the prince's death (*c*).

LI. THE grief of the soldiers, at the funeral ceremony, drove them, in a fit of distraction, to another mutiny. No officer assumed the command; no one interfered to allay the ferment. The men demanded a sight of Verginius; one moment calling upon him to accept the sovereignty, and the next, with mingled prayers and menaces, pressing him to undertake an embassy on their behalf to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius, seeing them determined to enter his house by force, made his escape at the back door. The cohorts that lay encamped at Brixellum, deputed Rubrius Gallus with terms of submission. That officer obtained their pardon. At the same time Flavius Sabinus made terms for himself, and, with the troops under his command, submitted to the conqueror.

LII. THOUGH the war was now at an end, a great part of  
the

the senate, who accompanied Otho from Rome, and by him were left at Mutina, found themselves involved in the utmost danger. They received an account of the defeat at Bedriacum, but the foldiers treated it as a false alarm: Suspecting the integrity of the fathers, and fully persuaded that they were, in secret, enemies to Otho and his cause, they watched their motions, listened to their words, and, with their usual malignity, gave to every thing that passed the worst construction. They proceeded to reproach and every kind of insult, hoping to find a pretence for an insurrection and a general massacre. The senators saw another cloud gathering over their heads: they knew that the Vitellian party triumphed; and, if they were tardy with their congratulations, the delay might be thought a spirit of disaffection. In this dilemma they called a meeting of the whole order. No man dared to act alone. In the conduct of all, each individual hoped to find his own personal safety. At the same time an ill-judged compliment from the people of Mutina increased the apprehensions of the senators. The magistrates of the city made a tender of arms and money for the public service, and, in the style of their address, gave to a small party of senators the appellation of conscript fathers; a title always applied to the collective body.

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LIII. IN the debate that followed in a thin meeting of the fathers, a violent dispute broke out between Licinius Cæcina and Eprius Marcellus; the former, with warmth and vehemence, charging it as a crime against Marcellus, that he spoke in ambiguous terms and with studied obscurity. The case was by no means singular; all were equally dark and mysterious; but the name of Marcellus, who had conducted so many prosecutions (*a*), was universally detested, and Cæcina, a new man lately admitted into the senate, thought to rise by encountering powerful enmi-



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ties. The dispute was ended by the interposition of wiser men. The senate adjourned to Bononia, intending there to meet again, when they hoped to have more certain intelligence. They stationed messengers on all the public roads to interrogate every man that passed. One of Otho's freedmen came in their way. Being asked why he had left his master, he made answer, "I have with me the directions and last will of the prince, who is still alive, but he renounces all the joys of life: his thoughts are fixed upon posterity, and he has now no other care." This account made an impression on every mind: all stood astonished, and soon after, without asking any further questions, went over to Vitellius.

LIV. LUCIUS VITELLIUS, brother of the new emperor, attended the meeting of the senate. The fathers began to address him in a flattering strain, and he was willing to receive their incense. His joy was soon interrupted. One Cænus, a freedman of Nero's, by a bold and impudent falsehood, threw the assembly into consternation. He affirmed it as a fact, that the fourteenth legion, with the forces from Brixellum, attacked the victorious party, and gained a complete victory. The motive of this man for framing a story so false and groundless, was because he saw Otho's orders for road horses (*a*) and carriages no longer in force, and he wished to revive their former authority. By this stratagem he gained a quick conveyance to Rome, and in a few days was put to death by order of Vitellius. In the mean time, the Othonian soldiers gave credit to the fiction, and even believed that the fathers, who had departed from Mutina to deliberate at Bononia, were gone over to the enemy. From this time the senate was convened no more. Every man acted with his own private views, till letters arrived from Fabius Valens, and

and put an end to all their fears. Besides this, the death of Otho was universally known. The velocity of fame was equal to the glory of that heroic action.

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LV. MEANWHILE, at Rome a general calm prevailed. The games sacred to Ceres (*a*) were celebrated according to annual custom. In the midst of the public spectacle intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had, at the requisition of Flavius Sabinus, sworn fidelity to Vitellius: the people heard the news with transport, and the theatre shook with applause. The audience, crowned with laurel wreaths, and strewing the way with flowers, went forth in procession, and, with the images of Galba displayed in a triumphant manner, visited the several temples, and afterwards with their chaplets raised a fancied tomb to his memory, on the spot, near the lake of Curtius, where that emperor breathed his last. The various honours, which flattery, at different times, had lavished on former princes, were decreed by the senate to the new sovereign. They passed a vote of thanks to the German armies, and dispatched special messengers to congratulate Vitellius on his accession to the imperial dignity. A letter from Fabius Valens to the consuls was read in the senate; and though there was nothing of arrogance in the style, the respectful modesty of Cæcina, who remained silent, gave greater satisfaction.

LVI. PEACE was now established throughout Italy; but it was a peace more destructive than the calamities of war. The Vitellian soldiers, quartered in the colonies and municipal cities, were still bent on spoil and rapine. They committed the most horrible outrages, deflowering the women, and trampling on all laws human and divine. Where they refrained from injury, they received a bribe for their forbearance. Nothing sacred or

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profane was spared. Innocent men were marked out as soldiers of Otho's party, and, under that pretence, murdered by their private enemies. The soldiers who best knew the country, fixed upon the opulent farmers as their devoted prey. Where the lands were rich, they laid waste and plundered without controul. All who resisted were put to the sword. The general officers had no power to check the mischief. What they had done themselves, they could not oppose in others. Cæcina had not the avarice of his colleague; popularity was his passion. Valens, on the contrary, had made himself infamous by his rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive, when he saw his own vices practised by others. Italy was long since exhausted, and, in that impoverished state, obliged to maintain numerous armies, and to bear the superadded grievances of riot, insult, and devastation.

LVII. VITELLIUS, in the mean time, advanced towards Italy with the remainder of the German armies, ignorant of his victory, and still conceiving that he was to meet the whole weight of the war. A few of the veteran soldiers were left behind in winter quarters; and to recruit the legions, which retained little more than their name, hasty levies were made in Gaul. On the frontiers bordering on the Rhine the command was given to Hordeonius Flaccus. To his own army Vitellius added eight thousand men from Britain. Having marched a few days, he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and the conclusion of the war by the death of Otho. He called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a public harangue, extolled the valour of the troops that conquered in his service. He had with him a freedman of the name of Asiaticus (*a*). The army wished to see him raised to the dignity of a Roman knight. Vitellius knew that the request was a flight of adulation, and had the spirit to reject

reject it; but such was his natural levity, that what he refused in public, he granted in private over his bottle. And thus a despicable slave, who was goaded on by ambition, and had nothing to recommend him but his vices, was honoured with the equestrian ring.

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LVIII. ABOUT the same time Vitellius received advices that the two Mauritania (*a*) had acceded to his party. This event was occasioned by the murder of Luceius Albinus, the governor of that country. The province which was called Cæsariensis had been by Nero committed to Albinus; and the other, called Tingitana, was afterwards added by Galba. In consequence of his extensive command, the governor was master of a considerable force; not less than nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of horse, and a numerous body of Moors, accustomed to live by depredation, and by their hardy course of life prepared for the fatigues of war. Albinus, on the death of Galba, declared in favour of Otho, and, not content with his power in Africa, began to form an enterprize against Spain, which was separated by a narrow channel (*b*). Cluvius Rufus presided in Spain. Alarmed at the projects of the commander in Africa, he ordered the tenth legion to march to the sea-coast, with a design, as he gave out, to cross the sea. In the mean time he dispatched a few chosen centurions to tamper with the Moors, and draw them over to the interest of Vitellius. This was not a difficult task. The fame of the German armies resounded through all the provinces. A report prevailed, at the same time, that Albinus, disdaining the title of procurator, had usurped the regal diadem, and the name of Juba.

LIX. THE currents of popular opinion were by these cir-  
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cumstances entirely changed in Africa. Asinius Pollio, who commanded a squadron of horse in that country, and professed himself devoted to Albinus, was immediately murdered. Festus and Scipio, each the præfect of a cohort, shared the same fate. Albinus himself, after a short voyage from the province of Tingitana to that of Cæsariensis, was put to death as soon as he landed. His wife, attempting to oppose the assassins, perished with her husband. These transactions passed without the notice of Vitellius. Nothing awakened his curiosity. Even in matters of the highest importance, the attention of a moment was all that could be expected from a man who had neither talents nor application to business. He ordered his army to pursue their march into Italy, while he himself sailed down the Arar (*a*); not with the pomp and grandeur of a prince, but still exposing to public view the distress and poverty (*b*) of his former condition. At length Junius Blæsus, at that time governor of the Lyonesse Gaul, a man of a large and liberal mind, by his birth illustrious, and of a spirit equal to his vast possessions, supplied Vitellius with a train suited to the imperial dignity, and attended in person to do honour to the new emperor. Vitellius saw this display of magnificence with an evil eye, but under specious and even fervile caresses took care to hide his jealousy. At Lyons the general officers of both parties, as well the vanquished as the victorious, attended to do homage to the prince. Vitellius in a public speech pronounced the panegyric of Valens and Cæcina, whom he placed on each side of his curule chair. He then ordered out the whole army to receive his son, then an infant of tender years. The soldiers obeyed. The father took the child in his arms, and, having adorned him with a purple robe, and other marks of princely grandeur, saluted him by the title of GERMANICUS; in this manner bestowing extra-

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gant honours, even in the tide of prosperity, ill judged and out of season; but, perhaps, in the reverse of fortune that happened afterwards, some source of consolation.

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LX. THE centurions, who had signalized themselves in Otho's service, were by order of Vitellius put to death. By this act of cruelty he lost the affections of the forces from Illyricum. The rest of the legions caught the infection, and, being already on bad terms with the German soldiery, began to meditate a revolt. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus were kept for some time in a wretched state of suspense. Being at length admitted to an audience, they made a defence, which nothing but the necessity of the times could excuse. They charged themselves with treachery to Otho, and to their own sinister designs ascribed the march of the army on the day of battle, the fatigue of the troops, and the confusion in the ranks, occasioned by not removing the baggage, with many other incidents, from which, though accidental, they derived to themselves the merit of fraud and perfidy. Vitellius gave them credit for their guilt, and pardoned, though they had been in arms against himself, their attachment to his enemy. Salvius Titianus was exempt from danger. Natural affection made him join his brother, and his despicable character sheltered him from resentment. Marius Celsus, consul elect, was suffered to succeed to his honours, though Cæcilius Simplex, as was generally believed, endeavoured by bribery to supplant him. His ambition aimed at the consulship, and would fain have risen on the ruins of an Othonian officer. The attempt was afterwards objected to him in open senate. The emperor, however, withstood his solicitations, but, in time, raised him (*a*) to that high office, without the guilt of bribery or murder. Trachalus was attacked by his enemies, but owed his safety to the protection of Galeria, the wife of Vitellius.



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LXI. AMIDST the dangers that involved the first men of the age, it may be thought beneath the dignity of history to relate the wild adventure of one Mariccus, a Boian by birth, and sprung from the dregs of the people. This man, however mean his condition, had the presumption to mix his name with men who fought for the empire of the world. In a fit of enthusiasm, pretending to have præternatural lights, he called himself the tutelar Deity of Gaul, and, in the character of a god, dared to defy the Roman arms. He played the impostor so well, that he was able to muster eight thousand men. At the head of that deluded multitude, he made an attempt on the adjacent villages of the Æduans. The people of that nation were not to be deluded. They armed the flower of their youth, and, with a reinforcement from the Roman cohorts, attacked the fanatics, and put the whole body to the rout. Mariccus was taken prisoner, and soon after given to the wild beasts (*a*). The populace, astonished to see that he was not immediately torn to pieces, believed him to be sacred and inviolable. Vitellius ordered him to be executed under his own eye, and that catastrophe cured the people of their bigotry.

LXII. FROM this time the partisans of Otho were no longer persecuted. Their persons and their effects remained inviolable. The last wills of such as fell in that unfortunate cause were allowed to be valid, and, where no will was made, the law in cases of intestacy took its course. In fact, it was the luxury of Vitellius that oppressed mankind: from his avarice there was nothing to fear. His gluttony (*a*) knew no bounds. To administer to his appetite, Rome and Italy were ransacked for rarities. The roads from both the seas rung with a din of carriages, loaded with whatever was exquisite to the palate. To entertain him on his march, the principal men of every city were obliged to lavish all

their wealth, and the country was exhausted. The soldiers, degenerating into a band of epicures, lost all regard for military duty. They despised their prince, yet followed his example. Vitellius, by an edict sent forward to Rome, signified his pleasure to postpone for the present the title of Augustus; and for that of Cæsar, he declined it altogether. The prerogative of the prince was sufficient for his ambition. He ordered the mathematicians to be banished out of Italy, and, under heavy penalties, restrained the Roman knights from disgracing themselves by fighting prizes like common gladiators, and by exhibiting their persons on the public stage. That infamous practice was introduced by former princes, who did not scruple to allure men to the theatre by donations of money, and, when bribery failed, to drive them to it by force and violence. The contagion reached the municipal towns and colonies, where it became the general practice to lie in wait for the young and profligate, in order, by the temptation of money, to invite them to disgrace and infamy.

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LXIII. THE character of Vitellius, soon after the arrival of his brother (*a*), and other courtiers from Rome, came forth in the blackest colours. That pernicious crew began to teach their maxims of despotism, and the prince displayed his cruelty and his arrogance. He gave orders for the execution of Dolabella, who, as already stated, on the first breaking out of the war was banished by Otho to the colony of Aquine. Being there informed of that emperor's death, he ventured to return to Rome. That step was objected to him as a crime by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, a man of prætorian rank. He preferred his accusation, in form, before Elavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city. The specific charges were, that Dolabella broke from his place of confinement, to offer himself as a leader to the vanquished party, and, with that view, had endeavoured to seduce to his interest the



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the cohort stationed at Ostia. In the course of the trial, Dolabella heard the whole of the evidence with undaunted firmness, never shewing the smallest symptom of anxiety; but sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he then found it too late to sue for mercy. The business, however, seemed to Flavius Sabinus of such importance, that he began to hesitate, till Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, a woman fierce and cruel beyond her sex, advised him not to seek the fame of clemency, by sacrificing the interest of the prince. Sabinus did not want humanity; but, when danger threatened himself, his resolution failed. With a sudden change of mind he began to temporise, and, in order to secure his own personal safety, lent his aid to precipitate the fall of a man, whom he did not dare to protect.

LXIV. By this business Vitellius was alarmed for himself, and he had motives of inveterate hatred. Petronia, his former wife (*a*), was no sooner divorced, than Dolabella married her. Hence that unhappy man was an object of the emperor's fixed resentment. By letters dispatched to Rome, he invited him to his presence, advising him, at the same time, to shun the Flaminian road, and come more privately by the way of Interamnium. At that place, he ordered him to be put to death. The assassin thought he should lose too much time. Impatient to do his work, he attacked Dolabella at an inn on the road, and, having stretched him on the ground, cut his throat. Such was the beginning of the new reign, a prelude to scenes of blood that were still to follow. The furious spirit of Triaria, who took so active a part in this affair, was the more detested, as it stood in contrast to the mild character of Galeria, the emperor's wife, and also to that of Sextilia (*b*), his mother; a woman of virtue and benevolence, formed on the model of ancient manners. On receipt of the first letters from the emperor, wherein he assumed the

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the title of Germanicus, she is said to have declared, that she had no son of that name, but was the mother of Vitellius (*c*). She persevered with the same equal temper, never elated by the splendour of her family, nor deceived by the voice of flattery. In the prosperity of her sons she took no part; in their distress, she grieved for their misfortunes.

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LXV. VITELLIUS set out from Lyons, but had not proceeded far, when he was met by Marcus Cluvius Rufus, who came from his government in Spain, to congratulate the emperor on his accession. That officer appeared with joy in his countenance, and anxiety in his heart. He knew that an accusation had been prepared against him, by Hilarius, one of the emperor's freedmen, importing that, during the war between Otho and Vitellius, Rufus intended to set up for himself, and convert both the Spains into an independant state; and that, with this view, he had issued various edicts, without inserting the name of any prince whatever, and also made public harangues, to blacken the character of Vitellius, and recommend himself to popular favour. The interest of Rufus was too powerful. He triumphed over his adversary, and the freedman was condemned to punishment. Rufus, from that time, ranked among the emperor's intimate friends. He continued in favour at court, and, at the same time, retained his government of Spain; during his absence carrying on the administration of the province by his deputies, according to the precedent left by Lucius Arruntius (*a*), whom Tiberius, from suspicion and the jealousy of his nature, never suffered to depart from Rome. Trebellius Maximus (*b*) had not the good fortune to meet with equal favour. He had been the governor of Britain, but by a mutiny among the soldiers was obliged to escape out of the island. Vectius Bolanus (*c*), then a follower of the court, succeeded to the command.



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LXVI. VITELLIUS heard, with deep anxiety, that the vanquished legions still retained a fierce and unconquered spirit. Dispersed through Italy, and in every quarter intermixed with the victorious troops, they talked in a style of disaffection, breathing vengeance and new commotions. The fourteenth legion took the lead, denying, with ferocity, that they were ever conquered. It was true, they said, that at Bedriacum a vexillary detachment from their body was defeated, but the legion had no share in the action. To remove such turbulent spirits, it was judged proper to order them back into Britain, where they had been stationed, till recalled by Nero. The Batavian cohorts were ordered to march at the same time, and, as an old animosity subsisted between them and the soldiers of the fourteenth legion, orders were given that they should all be quietly quartered together. Between men inflamed with mutual hatred a quarrel soon broke out. It happened, at the capital of the Turinians (*a*), that a Batavian soldier had words with a tradesman, whom he charged with fraud and imposition. A man belonging to the legion took the part of his landlord. A dispute ensued; their comrades joined them; from abusive language they proceeded to blows; and, if two prætorian cohorts had not overawed the Batavians, a bloody conflict must have been the consequence. Vitellius, satisfied with the fidelity of the Batavians, incorporated them with his army. The legion had orders to proceed over the Graian Alps (*b*), and by no means to approach the city of Vienne, where the inhabitants were suspected of disaffection. The legion marched in the night, and left their fires burning. The consequence was a conflagration, by which a great part of the Turinian city was destroyed. The loss sustained by the inhabitants, like many other calamities of war, was soon obliterated by the ruin of other cities. The soldiers had scarce descended from the Alps, when they ordered the standard-bearers to march towards the colony of Vienne. The attempt, how-

however, was prevented by the good sense of such as were observers of discipline, and the whole legion passed over into Britain.

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LXVII. THE prætorian cohorts gave no less disquietude to Vitellius. To break their force, he separated them first into small parties, and soon after discharged them from the service; professing, however, in order to soften resentment, that they were, by their length of service, entitled to an honourable dismissal. They delivered up their arms to the tribunes; but, being informed that Vespasian was in motion, they assembled again, and proved the best support of the Flavian cause. The first legion of marines was ordered into Spain, that in repose and indolence their spirit might evaporate. The seventh and eleventh returned to their old winter quarters. For the thirteenth employment was found in the building of two amphitheatres; one at Cremona, and the other at Bononia. In the former Cæcina was preparing to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and Valens in the latter; both wishing to gratify the taste of their master, whom, in the midst of arduous affairs, nothing could wean from his habitual pleasures.

LXVIII. By these measures, the vanquished party was sufficiently weakened; but the spirit of the conquerors could not long endure a state of tranquillity. A quarrel broke out, in its origin slight and ridiculous, but attended with consequences that kindled the flame of war with redoubled fury (*a*). The occasion was as follows: Vitellius gave a banquet at Ticinum, and Verginius was of the party. The manners of the chiefs are ever sure to set the fashion for the tribunes and centurions. From the example of the officers, vice or virtue descends to the soldiers. In the army of Vitellius, all was disorder and confusion; a scene of drunken jollity, resembling a bacchanalian rout, rather than a camp, or a



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disciplined army. It happened that two soldiers, one belonging to the fifth legion, the other a native of Gaul, serving among the auxiliaries of that nation, challenged each other to a trial of skill in wrestling. The Roman was thrown; his antagonist exulted with an air of triumph; and the spectators, who had gathered round them, were soon divided into parties.

The legions, provoked by the insolence of the Gaul, attacked the auxiliaries sword in hand. Two cohorts were cut to pieces. The sudden danger of another tumult put an end to the fray. A cloud of dust was seen at a distance, and, at intervals, the glittering of arms. A report was instantly spread, that the fourteenth legion was returning to offer battle; but the mistake was soon discovered. It was found, that the men who brought up the rear of the army were approaching. That circumstance being known, the tumult subsided, till one of the slaves of Verginius was observed by the soldiers. They seized the man, and, in their fury, charged him with a design to assassinate Vitellius. With this notion in their heads, they rushed directly to the banqueting-room, and with rage and clamour demanded the immediate execution of Verginius. The emperor, though by nature addicted to suspicion, entertained no doubt of Verginius. He interposed to save his life, and with difficulty restrained the men, who thirsted for the blood of a consular commander, at one time their own general. It had ever been the fate of Verginius, more than of any other officer, to encounter the seditious spirit of the army. His character, notwithstanding, was held in great esteem; his brilliant talents extorted admiration even from his enemies; but the moderation, with which he rejected the imperial dignity, was considered as an affront. The soldiers thought themselves despised, and from that moment repented the injury.

LXIX. ON

LXIX. ON the following day, the deputies from the senate, who according to order attended at Ticinum, were admitted to an audience. That business over, Vitellius visited the camp, and, in a public harangue, expressed a lively sense of the zeal which the soldiers had exerted in his service. This proceeding roused the jealousy of the auxiliaries. They saw the insolence of the legionary soldiers, and the impunity with which they committed the most outrageous actions. It was to prevent the consequences of this dangerous jealousy, that the Batavian cohorts had been ordered back to Germany, the fates even then preparing the seeds of a foreign (*a*) and a civil war. The allies from Gaul were also dismissed to their respective states; a vast unwieldy multitude, drawn together in the beginning of the revolt, not for actual service, but chiefly for vain parade, and to swell the pomp of a numerous army. The imperial revenues being well nigh exhausted, there was reason to apprehend a want of funds to answer the largesses of the prince. To prevent that distress, Vitellius ordered the complement of the legions and auxiliaries to be reduced, and no new levies to be made. Dismissions from the service were granted indiscriminately to all who applied. The policy was of the worst consequence to the commonwealth, and, at the same time, a grievance to the soldiers, who felt themselves oppressed by returns of military duty, too frequent for the scanty numbers that remained. Their fatigue increased, while their manners were debauched, and their vigour wasted by the vices of a luxurious life, so different from the institutions of the old republic, when money was despised, and virtue was the energy of the state.

LXX. VITELLIUS proceeded to Cremona. Having there attended a spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina, he was led by curiosity to the field of Bedriacum, in order to see on the spot

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spot the vestiges of his recent victory. The fields around presented a mournful spectacle. Forty days (*a*) had elapsed, and the plain was still covered with bodies, gashed and mangled; with broken limbs, and men and horses in one promiscuous carnage; clotted gore, and filth, and putrefaction; the trees cut down, and the fruits of the earth trampled under foot; the whole a dreary waste, the desolation of nature. The view of the high road was no less shocking to humanity. The people of Cremona, amidst the horrors that covered the face of the country, had strewed the way with roses and laurels, and had even raised altars, where victims were slain, as if a nation of slaves had been employed to adorn the triumph of a despotic prince. But these servile acts, with which an abject people rejoiced over human misery, in a short time after brought on their own destruction. Valens and Cæcina attended the emperor to the field. They pointed to the particular spots, where the strokes of the battle lay: “Here the legions rushed on to the attack; there the cavalry bore down all before them; from that quarter the auxiliaries wheeled about, and surrounded the enemy.” The tribunes and præfects of cohorts talked of their own exploits; and the truth, if they mingled any, was warped and disfigured by exaggeration. The common soldiers quitted the road, to mark the places where they had fought, and to survey the arms and dead bodies of the vanquished piled up in heaps. They viewed the scene with brutal joy, and wondered at the destruction they had made. Some, with generous sympathy, felt the lot of humanity, and tears gushed from every eye. Vitellius shewed no symptom of compassion. He saw, without emotion, the bodies of Roman citizens unburied on the naked ground, and, with fell delight, offered a sacrifice to the deities of the place, little then suspecting the reverse of fortune which was soon to overtake himself.

LXXI. AT

LXXI. AT Bononia Fabius Valens exhibited a shew of gladiators, with a pompous display of decorations, which he had ordered to be brought from Rome. In proportion as the emperor advanced towards the capital, riot and licentiousness grew still more outrageous. Players of interludes and a band of eunuchs mixed with the soldiers, and revived all the vices of Nero's court. Vitellius admired the manners of that shameful period, and wherever Nero went to display his voice and minstrelsy, he was sure to be one of his followers, not by compulsion, as was the case with men of integrity, but of his own motion, a willing sycophant, allured by his palate, and bribed by gluttony. In order to open the way for Valens and Cæcina to the honours of the consulship, the time of those in office (*a*) was abridged. Martius Macer (*b*), who had been a general in Otho's party, was passed over in silence; and Valerius Marinus, who had been put in nomination by Galba, was also set aside, not for any charge alleged against him, but because, being a man of a passive temper, he was willing to acquiesce under every injury without a murmur. Pedanius Costa shared the same fate. He had taken an active part against Nero, and even endeavoured to excite the ambition of Verginius. He was, in fact, rejected for that offence, though other reasons were pretended. For this proceeding, Vitellius received public thanks: to acts of oppression, the fervility of the times gave the name of wisdom.

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LXXII. ABOUT this time a daring fraud was attempted, at first with rapid success, but in a short time totally defeated. A man of low condition thought he might emerge from obscurity, by taking upon him the name of Scribonianus Camerinus (*a*). His story was, that, during the reign of Nero, to elude the fury of the times, he had lain concealed in Istria, where the followers of the ancient Craffi still occupied the lands of their former masters,

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and retained their veneration for that illustrious house. To carry on this ridiculous farce, the impostor engaged the vile and profligate in his interest. The vulgar, with their usual credulity, and the soldiers, either led into an error or excited by their love of innovation, joined in the plot. Their leader was seized, and brought into the presence of Vitellius. Being interrogated who and what he was, he was found to be a fugitive slave, of the name of Geta, recognized, as soon as seen, by his master. He was condemned to suffer the death of a slave (*b*), in the manner inflicted by the law.

LXXIII. ADVICE was at length received from Syria and Judæa, that the east submitted to the new emperor. The pride with which Vitellius was bloated upon this occasion, is scarcely credible. Intelligence from that part of the world had been hitherto vague and uncertain; but Vespasian was in the mouths of men, and the rumour of the day filled the world with reports, that sometimes roused Vitellius from his lethargy. He started at the name of Vespasian. At length the cloud was blown over, and a rival was no longer dreaded. The emperor and his army plunged into every excess of cruelty, lust, and rapine, as if a foreign tyranny and foreign manners had overturned the empire.

LXXIV. MEANWHILE Vespasian took a view of his own situation, and weighed with care all possible events. He considered the importance of the war, and made an estimate of his strength, the resources in his power, and the forces at a distance, as well as those that lay near at hand. The legions were devoted to his interest, inasmuch that, when he shewed himself the first to swear fidelity to Vitellius, and offer up vows for the prosperity of his reign, the soldiers marked their displeasure by a fullen silence. Mucianus was the friend of Titus, and by no means

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averse from the father. The præfect of Ægypt, whose name was Alexander, was ready to promote the enterprize. The third legion, which had been removed from Syria to Mæsia, Vespasian considered as his own, and had, besides, good reason to hope, that the forces in Illyricum would enter into the confederacy. In fact, the armies, wherever stationed, were every day more and more incensed against the soldiers that came amongst them from the Vitellian party; a set of men, rough and horrid in their appearance, savage in their manners, and in their brutal discourse affecting to treat the legions of the east with contempt and derision. But in an enterprize of such importance, it was natural to doubt, and hesitate. Vespasian remained for some time in a state of suspense, now elate with hope, and soon depressed with fear. “What  
“an awful day must that be, when he should unsheath the sword,  
“and commit himself, at the age of sixty, with his two sons (*a*)  
“in the prime season of life, to the danger of a civil war! In  
“undertakings of a private nature, men may advance or retreat,  
“as they see occasion; but when the contest is for sovereign  
“power, there is no middle course. You must conquer, or  
“perish in the attempt.”

LXXV. AN officer of his experience was no stranger to the strength and valour of the German armies. “The legions under  
“his command had not been tried in a war against their fellow  
“citizens, while, on the other hand, the Vitellians added to their  
“experience all the pride of victory. The vanquished would,  
“undoubtedly, be dissatisfied; but to murmur discontent was  
“all that fortune left in their power. In the rage of civil war  
“the common soldier renounces every honest principle; trea-  
“chery becomes habitual; and every man who sets no value on  
“his own life, holds the chief in his power. Cohorts of foot,  
“and squadrons of horse, make a vain parade, if one intrepid  
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“villain, for the reward promised by the adverse party, may  
 “strike a sudden blow, and by a murder terminate the war.  
 “Such was the fate of Scribonianus (*a*) in the reign of Claudius :  
 “he was murdered by Volaginius, a common foldier, and the  
 “highest posts in the service were the wages of that desperate  
 “assassin. An army may be drawn up in order of battle, and  
 “to animate them to deeds of valour is not a difficult task : but  
 “the private ruffian is not easily avoided.”

LXXVI. SUCH were the reflections that presented themselves to the mind of Vespasian. His friends and the principal officers endeavoured to fix his resolution. Mucianus lent his aid, and, not content with private conferences, took a public opportunity to declare his sentiments, in effect as follows : “ In  
 “all great and arduous undertakings, the questions of importance  
 “are, Is the enterprize for the good of the commonwealth ? Will  
 “it do honour to the man who conducted it ? And are the diffi-  
 “culties such as wisdom and valour may surmount ? Nor is this  
 “all : the character of the man who advises the measure should  
 “be duly weighed : Is he willing to second the counsel, which  
 “he gives, at the hazard of his life ? What are his views ? And  
 “who is to reap the reward of victory ? It is Mucianus who  
 “now calls upon Vespasian ; Mucianus invites you to imperial  
 “dignity ; for the good of the commonwealth he invites you ;  
 “for your own glory he exhorts you to undertake the enter-  
 “prize. The gods are with you, and under them the rest de-  
 “pends upon yourself. The advice which I give is honest :  
 “there is no flattery in it. For let me ask, can it be flattery to  
 “prefer you to Vitellius ? To be elected after such an emperor  
 “is rather a disgrace. With whom are we to contend ? Not  
 “with the active mind of Augustus, nor with the craft of the  
 “politic Tiberius. Nor is it against Caligula, Claudius, or Nero,  
 “that

“ that we propose to rise in arms. They had a kind of here-  
 “ ditary right: their families were in possession of the sove-  
 “ reignty.

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“ Even Galba could boast of an illustrious line of ancestors,  
 “ and for that reason you were willing to acknowledge his title.  
 “ But in the present juncture, to remain inactive, and leave the  
 “ commonwealth a prey to vice and infamy, were a desertion of  
 “ the public, which nothing can excuse. Do you imagine that  
 “ in a state of servitude you can find your own personal safety?  
 “ Even in that case, submission would be attended with disgrace  
 “ and infamy. But ambition is not now imputed to you for  
 “ the first time: you have been long suspected, and nothing  
 “ remains but vigorous enterprise. The sovereign power is your  
 “ only refuge. Have we forgot the fate of Corbulo (*a*)? It may  
 “ be said that the nobility of his birth (superior, it must be con-  
 “ fessed, to you as well as myself) exposed him to danger. It  
 “ may be so; but let it be remembered, that Nero towered above  
 “ Vitellius: and remember besides, that, in the eyes of the person,  
 “ who lives in fear, the man who makes himself dreaded, is  
 “ illustrious. Do we doubt whether the armies can create an  
 “ emperor? Vitellius furnishes the proof; a man without mili-  
 “ tary fame, who never served a campaign; but owes his ele-  
 “ vation, not to his own merit, but to Galba’s want of popularity.  
 “ His victory was not obtained by the ability of his generals, or  
 “ the valour of his troops: Otho was conquered by his own  
 “ hand. That precipitate action made Vitellius master of  
 “ the Roman world, and, in return, the infamy of Vitellius  
 “ gives a lustre to the name of Otho, insomuch, that men regret  
 “ that unfortunate prince.

“ At present, what is the conduct of our new emperor? He



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“ disbands the legions; he disarms the cohorts, and every day fur-  
 “ nishes arms against himself. The ferocity of his soldiers, what-  
 “ ever it may have been, has long since evaporated in victualling-  
 “ houses and drunken revelry. After the example of their  
 “ master, the soldiers are dissolved in sloth and luxury. On the  
 “ other hand, you have in Syria, Judæa, and Ægypt, no less  
 “ than nine legions, all high in spirit, unimpaired by war, and  
 “ not yet taught by sedition to renounce all regard for disci-  
 “ pline. You have an army enured to the operations of war,  
 “ and crowned with victory over the enemies of their country.  
 “ You have a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, a naval arma-  
 “ ment, and powerful kings, all devoted to your cause. Above  
 “ all, you have your own talents and your renown in arms.

LXXVII. “ To myself I arrogate nothing: yet let me not  
 “ be thought inferior to Valens or Cæcina. If Mucianus does  
 “ not aspire to be your rival, you will not therefore think meanly  
 “ of him. Willing to yield to Vespasian, I claim precedence  
 “ of Vitellius. Your house has been distinguished by triumphal  
 “ honours (*a*); you have two sons, and one of them (*b*) is al-  
 “ ready equal to the weight of empire. The German armies  
 “ saw him give an earnest of his future character. Were I this  
 “ very moment possessed of the sovereign power, I should call  
 “ Titus my son by adoption; with propriety, therefore, I yield  
 “ to his father. The enterprise, to which I exhort you, will  
 “ not, in its consequences, be the same to us both. If we suc-  
 “ ceed, the honours which I may receive must flow from you:  
 “ in toil and danger I am willing to be your rival; or, if you  
 “ will (and it is the best expedient), remain here to issue your  
 “ orders, and leave me to conduct the war.

“ The troops that lately conquered are by no means formi-  
 “ dable.

“ dable. In the vanquished party there is more order and better  
 “ discipline. The latter, stung with shame and indignation, are  
 “ burning for revenge. All motives conspire to inflame their  
 “ ardour. The Vitellians, on the contrary, intoxicated with  
 “ success, and elate with pride, disdain all rules of subordination.  
 “ They are undone by luxury. Their wounds, as yet scarcely  
 “ closed, will open in a new war and bleed afresh. My depend-  
 “ ance, it is true, must be upon your vigilance, your œconomy,  
 “ your wisdom; but I expect no less advantage from the igno-  
 “ rance, the stupidity, and cruel disposition of Vitellius. In a  
 “ word, war must be our choice; to us it is safer than peace, for  
 “ we have already deliberated; and he who deliberates, has re-  
 “ belled.”

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LXXVIII. By this animating speech all who assisted at the council were inspired with new confidence. They pressed round Vespasian, exhorting him to undertake the enterprise; they recalled to his memory the responses of oracles (*a*), and the predictions of men skilled in judicial astrology. Nor was Vespasian untinged with that superstition. Even afterwards, when possessed of the supreme authority, he retained a mathematician named Seleucus, to assist his councils with his insight into future events. A number of prognostics, that occurred to him in his youth, came fresh into his mind. He recollected a cypress tree of prodigious size on his own estate, that fell suddenly to the ground, and, on the following day, rose on the same spot, and flourished in new strength and verdure. This was considered by the interpreters of prodigies as an early prelude to future grandeur. At length, having obtained triumphal honours, together with the consular rank, when he had conducted the war against the Jews with such rapid success, the prediction seemed to be verified; and thus encouraged, he looked from that eminence to  
 higher



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higher elevation, and even to the imperial dignity. Between Syria and Judæa stands a mountain, known by the name of MOUNT CARMEL (*b*), on the top of which a god is worshipped, under no other title than that of the place, and, according to ancient usage, without a temple, or even a statue. An altar is erected in the open air, and there adoration is paid to the presiding deity. On this spot Vespasian offered a sacrifice. In the midst of the ceremony, while his mind expanded with vast ideas, Basilides, the officiating priest, examined the entrails of the victims, and in his prophetic manner addressing himself to Vespasian, "Whatever," he said, "are your designs, whether to build a mansion, to enlarge your estate, or increase the number of your slaves, the fates prepare for you a vast and magnificent seat, with an immense territory, and a prodigious multitude of men." This prediction, though involved in mysterious language, was spread abroad at the time, and now received a favourable interpretation. The story gathered strength among the populace, and in conversation with Vespasian was the favourite topic of his friends, who thought they could not enlarge too much on the subject, while the passions of the hearer stood ready to receive their advice.

LXXIX. MUCIANUS and Vespasian settled their plan, and took leave of each other: the former went to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and the latter to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Judæa. The first public step towards creating Vespasian emperor of Rome, was taken at Alexandria in Ægypt: Tiberius Alexander, the præfect of the province, eager to shew his zeal, administered the oath to the legions under his command. The ceremony was performed on the calends of July, and that day was ever after celebrated as the first of Vespasian's reign, though the army in Judæa swore fidelity on the fifth before the nones of the same month, in

the

the presence of Vespasian himself. Titus was then on his way from Syria with dispatches from Mucianus, but the impatience of the men could not brook the delay of waiting for the emperor's son. The whole transaction originated with the soldiers, and was hurried on with such violent impetuosity, that the business was finished, without any public harangue, and even without a previous assembly of the legions.

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LXXX. FOR this great revolution no arrangement was made; no time, no place was fixed; nor was it known who was to be the author of the measure. In this state of uncertainty, while every bosom panted with hope and fear, and the motives to the revolt, with all the dangers that might ensue, kept the army in agitation, a small number of soldiers, who mounted guard near the apartment of the general, no sooner saw him coming forth from his chamber, than with one voice they saluted him by the title of emperor. The whole body followed their example. They pressed forward in crowds, calling him by the name of Cæsar, styling him Augustus, and conferring every other title of imperial grandeur. Vespasian balanced no longer. His fears subsided, and he now resolved to pursue the road of ambition. Even in this tide of his affairs he still preserved the equal tenour of his mind, free from arrogance, and such in his manners as he had always been. The new man never appeared. The change, as was natural, dazzled his imagination; but he took time to allay the hurry of his spirits, and then calmly addressed the men in the language of a soldier. He was heard with shouts of applause. Mucianus waited for this event. On the first intelligence, he declared for Vespasian, and the soldiers with alacrity took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor. That business over, Mucianus went to the theatre of Antioch, where the inhabitants were



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used to hold their public debates. He found a crowded meeting, and was received with acclamations.

He harangued the multitude, and his speech, though in Greek, was eloquent. In that language he had acquired sufficient facility, and he possessed, besides, the happy art (*a*) of giving grace and dignity to whatever he uttered. He inflamed the passions not only of the army, but also of the province, by asserting roundly, “that it was a fixed point with Vitellius, to quarter the German troops in the delightful region of Syria, that, in a rich and plentiful province, they might grow wanton in ease and luxury; while, in exchange, the legions of Syria were to be removed to cold encampments in Germany, there to endure the inclemency of the weather, and the rigours of the service.” The natives of the province had lived in habits of friendship with the legions, and, by intermarriages, had formed family connections. The soldiers, on their part, were naturalized in the country, and the stations, to which they were accustomed, were, by long residence, grown as dear to them as their native home.

LXXXI. BEFORE the ides of July, the whole province of Syria acceded to Vespasian. His party was further strengthened by Sohemus (*a*), who joined the league with the whole weight of his kingdom, and also by Antiochus, who inherited immense treasures from his ancestors, and was of all the kings, who submitted to the authority of Rome, the most rich and powerful. Agrippa, who was then at Rome, received private expresses from the east, requesting his presence in his own country. He departed, before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by a quick navigation passed over into Asia. Queen Berenice, at that time flourishing in the bloom of youth, and no less distinguished by

the graces of her person, espoused the interest of Vespasian, to whom, notwithstanding his advanced age, she had made herself agreeable by magnificent presents. The several maritime provinces, with Asia and Achaia, and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias, entered into the general confederacy; but from the governors of those provinces no forces could be expected, as they were not, at that time, strengthened by the legions stationed in Cappadocia. To settle the plan of operation, a grand council was held at Berytus (*b*). Mucianus attended. He was accompanied by a train of officers, tribunes, and centurions, and a considerable body of soldiers, selected to swell the pomp and grandeur of the scene. From Judæa the most distinguished officers went to the meeting, with the flower of their troops. An assembly, consisting of such a numerous train of horse and foot, and of eastern kings, who vied with each other in splendour and magnificence, presented a spectacle worthy of the imperial dignity.

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LXXXII. THE first and most important object was to raise recruits, and recall the veterans to the service. In all the strong and fortified cities, workmen were appointed for the forging of arms, and a mint for gold and silver coin was established at Antioch. The whole was carried on with diligence, under the direction of proper inspectors. Vespasian visited every quarter, by his presence giving spirit and animation to the cause. He encouraged the industrious by the warmth of his commendations; he roused the inactive by his example, and succeeded more by gentle methods than by the rigour of authority. To the failings of his friends he was often blind, but never to their virtues. He advanced some to the administration of provinces, and others to the rank of senators; all men of distinguished character, who rose afterwards to eminence in the state. There were others who



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owed their success more to their good fortune, than to their merit. Mucianus in his first harangue made incidental mention of a donative, but in guarded terms; nor did Vespasian, though engaged in a civil war, grant at any time a larger bounty than had been usual in times of profound peace. He chose that his soldiers should act on principles of honour, not from motives of bribery and corruption. To that firmness he owed the good order and regular discipline of his army. Ambassadors were sent to the courts of Parthia and Armenia, in order to settle a mutual good understanding, that, when the legions marched forward to open the campaign, the back settlements should not be exposed to sudden incursions of the enemy. Titus was to remain in Judæa (*a*), to complete the conquest of that country, while Vespasian made himself master of the passes into Ægypt. To make head against Vitellius, part of the army was deemed sufficient, under the conduct of such a general as Mucianus, with the additional terror of Vespasian's name, and the fates on his side superior to every difficulty. Letters were dispatched to the several armies, and the officers in command, with instructions to conciliate the prætorian soldiers, who had been disbanded by Vitellius, and by a promise, that all should be restored to their rank, to invite them once more into the service.

LXXXIII. MUCIANUS, with the appearance rather of an associate in the sovereign power, than of a general officer, advanced at the head of a light-armed detachment, never lingering in the course of his progress, that delay might not be thought a symptom of irresolution; and, on the other hand, not proceeding by rapid marches, that fame might fly before him, and spread the terror of his approach. He knew the weakness of his numbers, and that danger at a distance is always magnified. He was followed by the sixth legion, and thirteen thousand veterans, forming together

gether a considerable army. The fleet at Pontus had orders to assemble at Byzantium. That station was thought convenient, as Mucianus had not yet determined, whether he should not avoid the territory of Mæsia, and proceed in force to Dyrrhachium; while his naval armament commanded the seas of Italy, and, by consequence, protected the coasts of Achaia and Asia against the attempts of Vitellius, who, in that case, would not only see Brundisium and Tarentum in danger, but also the whole coast of Calabria and Lucania kept in a constant alarm.

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LXXXIV. THROUGHOUT the provinces nothing was heard but the din and bustle of warlike preparations. Soldiers were assembling; ships were preparing for sea, and the clink of armourers resounded in every quarter. How to raise supplies of money was the chief difficulty. Pecuniary funds, Mucianus used to say, were the sinews of war. For this purpose, in all questions touching the sum demanded, he regarded neither the truth nor the justice of the case. To be rich was to be liable to taxation, and money was to be raised in all events. Informations followed without number, and confiscations without mercy. Oppressive as these proceedings were, the necessity of the times gave a colourable excuse; but the misfortune was, the practice did not cease with the war, but continued, in the season of profound peace, to harass and oppress mankind. Vespasian, in the beginning of his reign, shewed no disposition to enrich his coffers by acts of injustice; but, being corrupted afterwards by the smiles of fortune, and listening to pernicious counsels, he learned the arts of rapacity, and dared to practise them (*a*). Mucianus, from his own funds, contributed to the exigencies of the war, generous from his private purse, that he might afterwards indemnify himself at the expence of the public. The rest of the officers,



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following his example, advanced sums of money, but were not, in like manner, repaid with usury.

LXXXV. VESPASIAN, in the mean time, saw his affairs assume a promising aspect. The army in Illyricum went over to his interest. In Mæsia the third legion revolted, and drew after them the eighth, and also the seventh, called the Claudian; both devoted to Otho, though not engaged in the action at Bedriacum. Before the battle, they had advanced as far as Aquileia; and being at that place informed of a total overthrow, they assaulted the messengers who brought the news; broke to shivers the standards that displayed the name of Vitellius; plundered the military chests; and, having divided the spoil, proceeded to every act of outrage and sedition. Conscious of that offence, and dreading the punishment that might follow, they consulted together, and clearly saw, that what they had done required a pardon from Vitellius, but with Vespasian stood in the light of real merit. To strengthen their cause, they sent dispatches to the army in Pannonia, inviting them to join the league; determined, if they did not comply, to compel them by force of arms. In this juncture, Aponius Saturninus (*a*), governor of Mæsia, conceived the design of perpetrating a barbarous murder. Under colour of public zeal, but with malice festering at his heart, he dispatched a centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, who commanded the seventh legion. That officer had timely notice. He provided himself with guides, who knew the course of the country, and escaped through devious tracts as far as Mount Hæmus. From that time, he took no part in the civil war. He affected often to be on the point of setting out to join Vespasian; but delayed his journey, at times seeming eager to depart, then doubting, hesitating, waiting for intelligence, and, during the whole war, resolving without decision.

LXXXVI. IN

LXXXVI. IN Pannonia, the thirteenth legion, and the seventh, called the Galbian, embraced the interest of Vespasian. They still remembered, with indignation, their defeat at Bedriacum, and the influence of Antonius Primus proved a powerful instigation. That officer, convicted of forgery (*a*) in the reign of Nero, remained obnoxious to the laws, till, among the evils that spring from civil dissension, he rose from infamy to his senatorian rank. He was advanced by Galba to the command of the seventh legion, and, according to report, offered himself to Otho, desiring, by letters, the rank of general against his benefactor. Otho paid no attention to the proposal, and, by consequence, Antonius remained inactive. In the present juncture, seeing a storm ready to burst upon Vitellius, he veered round to Vespasian, and became the grand support of the party. To his vices he united great and useful qualities: brave and valiant, he possessed uncommon eloquence; an artful and insidious enemy, he had the art of involving others in danger; in popular insurrections, a bold and turbulent leader; at once a plunderer and a prodigal; what he gained by rapine, he squandered in corruption; during the calm season of peace, a pernicious citizen; in war, an officer not to be neglected.

The armies of Mæsia and Pannonia formed a junction, and drew the forces of Dalmatia into the revolt. The consular governors of those provinces were neutral on the occasion; they took no share in the business, nor did the soldiers wait for their direction. Titus Ampius Flavianus ruled in Pannonia, and Poppæus Silvanus in Dalmatia; both rich, and advanced in years. Cornelius Fuscus, descended from illustrious ancestors, and then in the vigour of life, was, at the same time, imperial procurator. In his youth he had resigned his senatorian rank, to seek in solitude a retreat from public business. Joining afterwards with

Galba,

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Galba, he drew forth, in support of that emperor, the strength of his own colony, and for his services obtained the post of procurator. In the present commotions, he declared for Vespasian; and, by his ardent spirit, gave life and vigour to the cause. Self-interest did not mix with the motives that determined his conduct. His pride was in the field of action. He gloried in facing danger, and despised the reward of merit. War was his passion; and, though possessed of an ample fortune, he preferred a life of enterprise to indolence and his own personal safety. He acted in concert with Antonius Primus, and both exerted themselves to kindle the flame of war in every quarter. Where they saw a discontented spirit, they were sure to increase it by infusions of their own venom. They sent dispatches to the fourteenth legion in Britain, and to the first in Spain, knowing that both had favoured the cause of Otho against Vitellius. Their letters were spread all over Gaul, and, by their joint efforts, the Roman world was roused to arms. The forces in Illyricum declared for Vespasian; and in other parts, as soon as the first blow was struck, the troops stood ready to take the field.

LXXXVII. WHILE Vespasian and the leaders of his party were thus employed in concerting measures throughout the provinces, Vitellius, sunk in sloth, and growing every day more contemptible, advanced by slow marches towards the city of Rome. In all the villas and municipal towns through which he passed, carousing festivals were sufficient to retard a man abandoned to his pleasures. He was followed by an unwieldy multitude, not less than sixty thousand men in arms, all corrupted by a life of debauchery. The number of retainers and followers of the army was still greater, all disposed to riot and insolence, even beyond the natural bent of the vilest slaves. To these must be added a train of officers and servile courtiers, too  
haughty

haughty to be restrained within due bounds, even though the chief had practised the strictest discipline. The crowd was still increased by a conflux of senators and Roman knights, who came from Rome to greet the prince on his way; some impelled by fear, others to pay their court, and numbers, not to be thought fullen or disaffected. All went with the current. The populace rushed forth in crowds, accompanied by an infamous band of pimps, of players, buffoons, and charioteers, by their utility in vicious pleasures all well known and dear to Vitellius. Such were the disgraceful connections of the emperor, and he enjoyed them without a blush. To supply so vast a body with provisions, the colonies and municipal cities were exhausted; the fruits of the earth, then ripe and fit for use, were carried off; the husbandman was plundered; and his land, as if it were an enemy's country, was laid waste and ruined.

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LXXXVIII. THE fierce animosity that broke out at Ticinum between the legions and the auxiliaries, was not yet extinguished. Frequent quarrels occurred, and ended always in mutual slaughter. Against the peasants and farmers they were sure to be unanimous, but agreed in nothing else. The most dreadful carnage happened within seven miles of Rome. At that place Vitellius ordered victuals, ready dressed, to be distributed among the soldiers, as if he had prepared a feast to pamper a band of gladiators. The common people, who had come in crowds from Rome, were dispersed through the camp. To divert themselves with what they thought an arch and pleasant trick, they cut away the belts of the soldiers, and with an air of humour asked, Whether they were properly accoutred? The soldiers had no taste for raillery. They retaliated with their weapons, and fell with fury on the defenceless multitude. Among the slain was the father of one of the soldiers, killed as he stood engaged in

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conversation with his son. The unhappy victim was soon known; and, by that incident, the further effusion of blood was prevented. Rome, in the mean time, was thrown into consternation. A number of soldiers entered the city in a tumultuous manner, and rushed forward to the forum, impatient to see the spot where Galba perished. Covered with the skins of savage beasts, and wielding large and massy spears, the spectacle which they exhibited to the Roman citizens was fierce and hideous. Unused to crowded streets, they had not the skill to conduct themselves amidst a vast concourse of people, but with rude force pushed against the passengers; and sometimes slipping down, or, as might happen, thrown by the pressure of the throng, they rose hastily to resent what was no more than an accident, and from abusive language proceeded sword in hand to the most violent outrages. The tribunes and centurions, at the head of their troops of cavalry, paraded the streets in a warlike manner, and spread a general panic through the city.

LXXXIX. VITELLIUS himself, in his military apparel, mounted on a superb horse, advanced from the Milvian bridge, while the senate and the people pressed on before him to make way for their new master. His friends, however, remonstrated against his making a public entry in a military style, like a conqueror marching into a city taken by storm. He conformed to their advice, and, having put on his senatorian robe, made his entry in a pacific manner. His troops followed in regular order. The eagles of four legions led the way, with an equal number of standards on each side. The colours of twelve squadrons of horse were displayed with great pomp. The infantry followed, and after them the cavalry. The procession was closed by four-and-thirty cohorts, distinguished by the arms and habits of their respective nations. The præfects of the camp, the tribunes, and principal

principal centurions, arrayed in white, preceded their several eagles. The rest of the officers marched at the head of their companies. The blaze of arms and rich apparel added splendour to the scene. The burnished collars of the common men, and the trappings of the horses, glittered to the eye, while the whole presented a magnificent spectacle, worthy of a better emperor. In this manner Vitellius proceeded to the capitol, and there embracing his mother (*a*), saluted her by the name of Augusta.

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XC. ON the following day, Vitellius delivered a public harangue, and spoke of himself in magnificent terms, as if he had for his audience the senate and people of a foreign city. He assumed the virtues of industry and temperance; never considering, that he was in the hearing of men, who had seen his vices, and that every part of Italy, through which he had passed, had known and felt his abandoned profligacy. The populace, as usual, knowing neither truth nor falsehood, and indifferent about both, paid their tribute of flattery with noise and uproar. They pressed him to accept the title of Augustus: he declined it for some time, but the voice of the rabble prevailed. He yielded to their importunity; but his compliance was useless, and the honour was of short duration.

XCI. IN a city, where superstition interpreted every thing, the first act of Vitellius, in the character of sovereign pontiff, was considered as an omen that portended mischief. He issued an edict concerning the rites and ceremonies of religion, dated the fifteenth before the calends of August, a day rendered inauspicious by two victories formerly obtained over the armies of Rome; one at Cremera (*a*), and the other at Allia. But Vitellius was unacquainted with the antiquities of his country. He knew nothing of laws, either human or divine. The same stupidity possessed



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possessed his friends and his band of freedmen. The whole court seemed to be in a state of intoxication. In the assemblies held for the election of consuls (*b*), Vitellius assumed nothing above the rights of a citizen. He behaved to the candidates on a footing of equality. He attended in the theatre, giving his applause as a common spectator, and in the circus, mixing with the factions of the populace. By those arts he tried to gain the suffrages of the electors; arts, it must be acknowledged, often practised, and, when subservient to honest purposes, not to be condemned. But in a man like Vitellius, whose former life was too well known (*c*), the artifice served only to sink him into contempt.

He went frequently to the senate, even on frivolous occasions, when the subject of debate was altogether uninteresting. In that assembly Helvidius Priscus (*d*), prætor elect, happened to differ from the opinion of the emperor. Vitellius took fire in the moment, but, checking himself in time, called upon the tribunes of the people to support his authority. His friends, apprehending the consequences of a deep and smothered resentment, interposed with their good offices to soften prejudice. His answer was, "Nothing new has happened: two senators have differed in opinion: and is not that a common occurrence? I have myself often opposed the sentiments of Thrasea (*e*)."

The allusion to a character so truly eminent provoked a smile of contempt. Some, however, were glad to find, that, instead of the men who glittered in the sunshine of a court, he chose Thrasea for the model of true greatness.

XCII. PUBLIUS SABINUS, the præfect of a cohort, and Julius Priscus, a centurion, were advanced from those inferior stations to the command of the prætorian guards. The former owed his elevation

elevation to the friendship of Valens, and the latter to that of Cæcina. By those two ministers, though always at variance with each other, the whole power of the state was usurped and exercised. The authority of the emperor was merely nominal. Valens and Cæcina transacted every thing. Their mutual animosity, which had been suppressed during the war, but not extinguished, broke out at Rome with redoubled violence. Their friends with officious care envenomed the minds of the rival statesmen, and the various factions, that for ever distract the city of Rome, furnished every day new materials to inflame their jealousy. They vied with each other for pre-eminence, and by intrigue, by cabal, by their train of followers, and their crowded levees, endeavoured to manifest their superiority; while Vitellius wavered between both, and, as his inclinations shifted, the balance changed alternately from one to the other. Their authority exceeded all bounds, and was therefore, like all ill-gotten power, uncertain and precarious. They saw the caprice that marked the character of Vitellius, one moment inflamed with anger, and the next, lavish of his favours. Neither of the ministers could be sure of fixing the affections of his master, and both despised and feared him.

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Nothing, however, could satisfy their rapacity: they seized houses, gardens, and the whole wealth of the empire; while a number of illustrious men, whom Galba had recalled from banishment, were left to languish in distress and poverty. Their situation awakened no compassion in the breast of the emperor. He restored them, it is true, to their rights over their freedmen; and, by that act of justice, not only gratified the senators and other grandees of the city, but also gained the applause of the populace. But even this shew of benignity was rendered useless by the low cunning that marks the genius of slavery. To evade the claims of their patrons, the freedmen concealed their wealth



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in obscure places, or else deposited it in the custody of the great. Some of them contrived to insinuate themselves into the imperial family, and there growing into favour, looked down with pride and insolence on their disappointed masters.

XCIII. THE multitude of soldiers was so enormous, that the camp overflowed, and poured the redundant numbers into the city; a wild disorderly band, who fixed their station in the public porticos, and even in the temples. The men wandered about the streets of Rome, so utterly careless, that they forgot where they were quartered. Having no regular place of rendezvous, and performing no kind of duty, they gave themselves up to the dissolute manners of the city, and the practice of vices too foul to be named. In this course of life, their bodily strength decayed; the vigour of their minds was sunk in sloth, and their health entirely neglected. They chose for their abode the most vile and infamous places in the neighbourhood of the Vatican (*a*), where they contracted diseases, till an epidemic distemper began to rage amongst them. A dreadful mortality followed. The Gauls and Germans suffered most by their own imprudence. Infected with disorders, inflamed with fevers, and being naturally impatient of heat, they plunged into the Tiber, which unluckily was near at hand, and took delight in cooling their limbs, which proved a remedy as bad as the disease. The confusion, introduced by another circumstance, proved the bane of the army. It was thought advisable to raise sixteen cohorts (*b*) for the prætorian camp, and four for the city, each to consist of a thousand men. This measure, by cabals among the soldiers, and the jealousy subsisting between the two commanding officers, was the ruin of all discipline. Valens arrogated to himself the chief direction of the business. He had relieved Cæcina and his army, and on that account claimed pre-eminence. The Vitellian party

party had certainly gained no advantage over the enemy, till the arrival of Valens gave life and vigour to the cause. If the slowness of his march was at first liable to censure, the victory that followed made ample atonement, and redeemed the character of the general. The soldiers from the Lower Germany were to a man devoted to his interest. It was upon this occasion, according to the general opinion, that Cæcina first began to meditate the treachery, which he afterwards carried into execution.

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XCIV. THE indulgence shewn by Vitellius to his principal officers was exceeded by nothing but the licentiousness of the common soldiers. Each man enrolled himself in what company he thought proper, and chose his own station in the service. Some preferred the city cohorts; and, without considering merit or fitness for that employment, their wish was gratified. Others, who ought to have been selected, were suffered, at their own will and pleasure, to continue in the legions or the cavalry. This was the choice of numbers, who had impaired their constitutions, and were therefore willing to remove from the sultry heats of Italy to a more temperate climate. By these arrangements, the main strength of the legions and the cavalry was drafted away. A motley body of twenty thousand men was formed out of the whole army, without choice or judgment. The consequence was, that the camp retained neither the strength nor the beauty of military system.

Vitellius thought fit to harangue the soldiers. In the midst of his speech, a clamour broke out, demanding the execution of Asiaticus, and of Flavius, and Rufinus, who had been commanders in Gaul, and lifted on the side of Vindex. Nor did Vitellius endeavour to appease the tumult. From his sluggish temper nothing like firmness or authority could be expected.

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He knew that the time for discharging the promised donative was drawing near; and having no funds to answer the expectation of the soldiers, he thought it his best policy to atone by mean compliances for that deficiency. In order, however, to raise supplies, a tax was imposed on all the freedmen of former emperors, to be collected in proportion to the number of their slaves. To squander with wild profusion, was the only use of money known to Vitellius. He built a set of stables for the charioteers, and kept in the circus a constant spectacle of gladiators and wild beasts; in this manner dissipating with prodigality, as if his treasury overflowed with riches.

XCV. CÆCINA and Valens resolved to celebrate the birthday (*a*) of their master with all demonstrations of joy. They gave a show of gladiators in every quarter of the city, with a display of pomp and magnificence beyond all example. Vitellius resolved to solemnize the obsequies of Nero. He erected altars to that emperor in the field of Mars. The sight was highly pleasing to the vile and profligate, but gave disgust to all who had any principle, or a spark of remaining virtue. Victims were slain, fires were kindled, and the torch was carried by the Augustan priests; an order dedicated by Tiberius to the Julian family, in imitation of that consecrated by Romulus to Tatius (*b*) the Sabine king. From the victory at Bedriacum four months had not elapsed; and yet, in that short time, Asiaticus, the manumitted slave of the emperor, had already accumulated riches nothing short of the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and others of the servile race, whose names have been given up to the execration of mankind. The court of Vitellius was not the scene of honest emulation. No man endeavoured to rise by his virtue or his talents. The road to preferment was open to vice and luxury. He who entertained the prince in the gayest manner, and with sumptuous

sumptuous banquets glutted that craving appetite, was sure to be in favour. To enjoy the present hour, and seize with avidity the pleasures near at hand, was the whole occupation of Vitellius. Future events and distant consequences gave him no solicitude. He is said to have dissipated in a few months no less than nine millions of sesterces. Such was the sad condition of Rome; a great yet miserable city, obliged, in the space of one year, to groan under the yoke of an Otho and a Vitellius; and still worse, to suffer the depredations of Vinus, Valens, Icelus, and Asiaticus, till the people were at length transferred, like a herd of slaves, to Mucianus and Marcellus (*c*). New men succeeded, but the measures were still the same.

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XCVI. THE first intelligence of a revolt, that reached the ear of Vitellius, was that of the third legion in Illyricum. The account was sent by Aponius Saturninus, before that officer had formed his resolution to join Vespasian. His dispatches, made up in the first tumult of surprise, did not state the whole of the mischief. The creatures of the court, to sooth their master, endeavoured to palliate every circumstance. They called it the seditious spirit of one legion only, while every other army preserved unshaken fidelity, and there was, therefore, no danger to be apprehended. Vitellius addressed the soldiers to the same effect. He added that the prætorians, lately disbanded, were the authors of false reports, fabricated with a seditious intent to disturb the public peace: but still there was no reason to fear a civil war. He made no mention of Vespasian; and, to suppress all talk among the populace, a band of soldiers had orders to parade the streets. The policy, however, did not answer the end. Silence was commanded, and the people talked with greater freedom.

XCVII. DISPATCHES were, notwithstanding, sent to Germany,



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many, to Spain, and Britain, for a supply of men; but, as Vitellius wished to conceal the urgency of his affairs, his orders were not decisive, and, by consequence, the governors of the provinces were in no haste to obey. Hordeonius Flaccus (*a*), who commanded on the banks of the Rhine, having reason to fear the designs of the Batavians, expected to have a war upon his hands (*b*), and, therefore, thought it prudent not to diminish his force. In Britain, Vectius Bolanus was kept in a constant alarm by the restless genius of the natives. At the same time, those two officers began to balance between Vitellius and Vespasian. Spain shewed no alacrity. That country, left without a governor of proconsular authority, was under the direction of three commanders of legions, all equal in rank, and all willing, as long as Vitellius flourished in prosperity, to hold their employments under him, but in the day of distress ready to abandon his cause. Affairs in Africa wore a better aspect. The legion and the cohorts, which had been raised in that country by Clodius Macer, and disbanded by Galba, were again embodied by order of Vitellius, and the young men of the nation went in crowds to be enrolled in the service. The fact was, Vitellius and Vespasian had been proconsuls in Africa; the former governed with moderation, and was remembered with gratitude; the latter incurred the hatred of the people (*c*). From past transactions, the province and the allies in the neighbourhood formed their idea of what they had to expect under the reign of either of them: but the event convinced them of their error.

XCVIII. THE exertions in Africa were at first carried on with vigour. Valerius Festus, the governor of the province, co-operated with the zeal of the people, but in a short time began to waver between the contending parties. In his letters and public edicts he stood firm for Vitellius; his secret correspondence favoured

favoured Vespasian, and, by this duplicity, he hoped, in the end, to make terms for himself with the conqueror. In Rhætia and the adjacent parts of Gaul, certain emissaries, employed by Vespasian's friends, were seized with letters and proclamations in their possession. They were sent to Vitellius, and by his order put to death. Others, by their own address, or the protection of their friends, escaped detection. The consequence was, that the measures adopted by Vitellius were known to the opposite party, while those of Vespasian remained an impenetrable secret. The stupidity of Vitellius gave the enemy this advantage in the outset. Afterwards, when the passes over the Pannonian Alps (*a*) were secured by a chain of posts, all intelligence by land was entirely cut off, and by sea, the Etesian winds, that favoured the navigation to the east, were adverse to the homeward voyage.

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XCIX. VITELLIUS, finding that the advanced parties of the enemy had made an irruption into Italy, and news big with danger arriving from every quarter, gave orders to his generals to take the field without delay. Cæcina undertook the command, while Valens, who was just risen from a sick bed, remained at Rome for the recovery of his health. The German forces, marching out of the city, exhibited an appearance very different from the ferocity of their first approach. Their strength wasted; their vigour of mind depressed; their numbers thinned; their horses slow and lifeless; their arms an incumbrance; and the men, drooping under the heat of the season, overpowered by the dust, and unable to endure the weather, presented to all, who beheld their march, a languid, spiritless, and dejected army; averse from labour, and, for that reason, ready to revolt.

The character of Cæcina must be taken into the account. Ambition was his ruling passion: sloth and indolence, the effect



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of success and luxury, were vices newly contracted; or, perhaps meditating even then a stroke of perfidy, it was part of his plan to countenance whatever tended to impair the vigour of the army. The revolt of this commander has been ascribed by various writers to Flavius Sabinus, who had the address, by the means of Rubrius Gallus, his intermediate agent, to seduce Cæcina to the interest of his brother, under positive assurances that the terms stipulated between them would be ratified by Vespasian. The jealousy subsisting between Cæcina and Valens, had its effect on the mind of an aspiring chief, who saw his rival in the highest credit with Vitellius, and was, therefore, easily persuaded to merit the protection of a new prince.

C. CÆCINA took leave of Vitellius, and received at parting the highest marks of distinction. He sent forward a detachment of the cavalry to take possession of Cremona. The veterans of the fourteenth (*a*) and sixteenth legions followed, and after them the fifth and twenty-second. The rear was closed by the twenty-first, distinguished by the name of RAPAX, and the first legion, called the ITALIC, with the vexillaries of three British legions, and the flower of the auxiliary forces. Cæcina was no sooner set out on his expedition, than Valens sent directions to the army, which he had conducted into Italy, to wait for his arrival, according to the plan which, he said, was settled between himself and Cæcina. But the latter, being on the spot, and, by consequence, having greater weight and influence, assured the men that, upon mature deliberation, that whole plan had been altered, to the end that they might meet the first impression of the enemy with the united vigour of the army. Having thus secured in his own hands the whole command, he ordered the legions to proceed by rapid marches to Cremona, while a large detachment went forward to Hostilia (*b*). He himself

turned

turned off towards Ravenna, under a pretence of conferring with the officers of the fleet, but, in fact, with a design to make the best of his way to the city of Pavia, judging that place the fittest for a treasonable convention. He there met Lucilius Bassus (*c*), a man, who, from a squadron of horse, had been raised by Vitellius to the command of two fleets, one at Ravenna, and the other at Misenum. Not content with that sudden rise, he thought himself entitled to be made præfect of the prætorian guards. That disappointment he considered as an injury, and therefore resolved to gratify his unjust resentment by a stroke of perfidy. For this purpose he joined Cæcina. Which seduced the other cannot now be known. Two evil minds might form the same black design, and having formed it, they would find in congenial qualities a secret impulse to each other.

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CL. IN the memoirs of various authors who composed their work during the reign of the Flavian family (*a*), we are told that Cæcina acted on the most upright principles, with a view to the public tranquillity, and the good of his country. But this seems to be the language of flattery to the reigning prince. The conduct of Cæcina may be fairly traced to other motives. The natural inconstancy of the man, and, after his treachery to Galba, the confirmed habit of betraying without a blush, would be sufficient to remove all doubt, if we had not to add to the account his disappointed ambition, and the corrosions of envy, with which he saw himself eclipsed by the superior genius of his rival. Rather than be supplanted by others in the esteem of Vitellius, the ruin of that emperor was his remedy.

Having settled his plan of operations with Bassus, Cæcina once more put himself at the head of the legions, and by various artifices began to undermine the interest of Vitellius, and wean



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the centurions and soldiers from all affection for his person. Bassus, on his part, was equally active, and met with little difficulty. The officers and men belonging to the fleet remembered that they had lately distinguished themselves in the cause of Otho, and were therefore ready to declare against the enemy who had triumphed over him.

END OF BOOK II.

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B O O K III.





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*These transactions passed in a few months.*

Year of Rome — of Christ

Consuls for a short time.

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*Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.*

*Rosius Regulus, Cæcilius Simplex, Quinctius Atticus.*

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B O O K    I I I .

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I. **M**EANWHILE, the leaders of Vespasian's party, acting in concert, and with strict fidelity, laid the plan of their operations with better success. They met at Pætovio (*a*), the winter quarters of the thirteenth legion, and there held a council of war. The question on which they deliberated was, which was most advisable, to secure the passes over the Pannonian Alps, and there make halt, till the forces behind came up to their support, or to push forward with vigour, and penetrate at once into Italy. Some proposed dilatory measures, in order to pursue the campaign with their united force. They founded their opinion on the following reasons. "The fame and valour of the German  
"legions were greatly to be dreaded. Vitellius had been rein-

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“ forced by the flower of the army in Britain. The legions on  
 “ the side of Vespasian were inferior in number, and had been.  
 “ lately conquered. They talked, indeed, with ferocity; but the  
 “ minds of the vanquished are always depressed. If the Alps were  
 “ guarded by a chain of posts, Mucianus would have time to come  
 “ up with the strength of the east, and Vespasian, in the mean  
 “ time, would remain master of the seas. He had powerful fleets,  
 “ and the provinces espoused his cause. With these resources he  
 “ might, if necessary, prepare his measures for a second war. The  
 “ advantages, therefore, which might arise from delay, were suf-  
 “ ficiently evident; new succours would arrive, and their present  
 “ force, in the mean time, would not be exposed to the chance  
 “ of war.”

II. THIS reasoning was opposed by Antonius Primus, the grand  
 promoter of the confederacy. “ Activity,” he said, “ will give  
 “ every advantage to Vespasian, and prove the ruin of Vitellius and  
 “ his party. The conquerors have gained nothing by their vic-  
 “ tory; on the contrary, their vigour is melted down in sloth and  
 “ luxury. They are neither enured to a regular camp, nor trained  
 “ to arms, nor kept in exercise by military duty. Dispersed  
 “ through the municipal towns of Italy, they have lost their  
 “ martial spirit, and now are soldiers to their landlords only. Their  
 “ taste of pleasure is a new acquirement, and they enjoy it with  
 “ the same spirit that formerly incited them to the most ferocious  
 “ deeds. The circus, the theatre, and the delights of Rome have  
 “ sunk their vigour, and disease has rendered them unfit for mili-  
 “ tary duty. Allow them time, and they will recruit their  
 “ strength. The very idea of war will animate their drooping  
 “ courage. Their resources are great; Germany is near at hand,  
 “ and from that hive new swarms may issue forth; Britain is  
 “ separated by a narrow channel; Spain and Gaul lie contiguous,  
 “ and

“ and from both they may draw supplies of men, and horses, and  
 “ money. All Italy is theirs, and the wealth of Rome is at their  
 “ mercy. Should they resolve to wage a distant war, they have  
 “ two fleets, and the Illyrian sea lies open to their operations.  
 “ In that case, what will be the use of posts and stations on the  
 “ Pannonian Alps? and what the advantage of drawing the war  
 “ into length? Wait for another campaign; and where, in the  
 “ mean time, are we to find supplies of money and provisions?  
 “ To act with vigour is our best, our only expedient. The legi-  
 “ ons of Pannonia were surprised, not conquered: they are now  
 “ breathing revenge; they wish for nothing so much as an oppor-  
 “ tunity to signalize their valour in the field. The forces of  
 “ Mæsia (*a*) have neither wasted their strength, nor have they  
 “ been humbled by a defeat. If the strength on both sides is to  
 “ be estimated by the number of the men, and not of the legions,  
 “ the superiority is on the side of Vespasian. In his army no  
 “ corruption, no licentiousness. Even former misfortunes are  
 “ now of use; the men have seen their error, and the sense of  
 “ shame has established discipline and good order. In the last  
 “ action the cavalry suffered no disgrace: on the contrary, though  
 “ the event of the day was adverse, they broke through the ranks  
 “ of the enemy. And if two squadrons of horse, one from Pan-  
 “ nonia, and the other from Mæsia, could bear down all before  
 “ them, what may not be expected from the joint force of six-  
 “ teen squadrons, whose banners glitter in the service of Vespas-  
 “ fian? Their impetuosity in the first onset, their uproar, the  
 “ clangor of their arms, and the clouds of dust raised by their  
 “ horses hoofs, will confound, distract, and overwhelm a feeble  
 “ enemy, who have lost their warlike spirit. What I advise, I  
 “ am willing to execute. Those, who have not taken a decided  
 “ resolution, may, if they will, remain behind. Let them detain  
 “ their legions. Give me the light-armed cohorts: I ask no  
 “ more.



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“ more. With those gallant soldiers my intention is to force a  
 “ passage into Italy. The Vitellians will shrink from the attack;  
 “ and when you hear the tidings, you will then pursue the foot-  
 “ steps of Antonius, glad to follow where victory leads the  
 “ way.”

III. SUCH was the reasoning of this active partisan. He delivered the whole with a spirit, that convinced the prudent, and roused the timorous. His eyes flashed fire; his voice expanded, that the centurions and soldiers, who had pressed into the council-room, might hear the sentiments of a brave and experienced officer. All were carried away by a torrent of eloquence. The crowd extolled his courage, and despised the other officers for their want of spirit. He, and he alone, was the man of enterprise, the general worthy of the command. In a former council of war, where Vespasian's letters were read to the whole meeting, Antonius had announced his character, and made a deep impression on the minds of the soldiers. Upon that occasion, he entered with warmth into the debate, disdaining the little policy of using equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the construction that suited the views of the speaker. Intrepid and decisive, he laid himself open at once. He spoke with that frank and generous ardour, which is always sure to captivate the affections of the army. The soldiers admired a general, whom they saw ready to share every danger, and to be their partner in the rashness or the glory of the enterprise.

IV. THE person, who, in the opinion of the common men, filled the second place, was Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator of the province. That officer, by his freedom of speech, had already pledged himself to the cause: if it miscarried, his bold and forward censure of Vitellius left him no room to retreat. Titus Ampius

Flavianus

Flavianus stood in a very different light. His natural slowness, rendered still more languid by the increase of years, drew upon him the suspicion of the soldiers, who knew that he was (*a*) allied to Vitellius. In the beginning of the present commotions, he fled from his post, to avoid the storm then gathering round him, and, shortly afterwards, returned to the province, with intent, as was generally imagined, to execute some treacherous design. He had made his escape into Italy; but when he heard that the legions were in motion, he returned to Pannonia, and resumed his authority, fond of innovation, and willing to hazard himself in the troubles of a civil war. To this last step he was incited by the advice of Cornelius Fuscus, who wished to see him in Pannonia; not with a view of deriving advantage from his talents, but because the name of a consular officer was of moment, and, in the first efforts of a party not yet established, a person of that rank might give credit and lustre to the cause.

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V. THE march into Italy being the measure adopted, in order to secure the passes over the mountains, letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus (*a*), ordering him to advance by rapid marches with his army from Mæsia. At the same time, that the provinces, thus evacuated, might not lie open to the incursions of Barbarians on the borders, the chiefs of the Iazyges (*b*), a people of Sarmatia, were engaged to co-operate with the Roman army. The new allies offered to bring into the field a body of the natives, and also their cavalry, in which consists the strength of the country. Their service, however, was not accepted, lest a number of foreign mercenaries should take advantage of the distractions that convulsed the empire, or for better pay desert to the opposite party. The Suevian nation had, at all times, given proof of their steady attachment to the interest of Rome; and no doubt being entertained of their fidelity, their two kings,



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Sido and Italicus (*c*), were admitted into the league. On the confines of Rhætia, where Portius Septimius, the procurator of the province, remained firm to Vitellius, a range of posts was stationed to bridle that part of the country. With this view Sextilius Felix was sent forward, at the head of a squadron of horse called AURIANA (*d*), eight cohorts, and the militia of Noricum, with orders to line the banks of the river Ænus (*e*), which divides Rhætia from Noricum. Those two commanders were content to act on the defensive, and no engagement followed. The fate of empire was elsewhere decided.

VI. ANTONIUS PRIMUS began his march, at the head of a body of vexillaries drafted from the cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry. He pushed forward with eager speed to the invasion of Italy, accompanied by Arrius Varus, an officer of distinguished valour, who had served under Corbulo (*a*) in Armenia, and from the talents and brilliant success of that applauded commander, derived all his reputation. In secret cabals with Nero he is said to have whispered away the character of his general, converting into crimes the eminent virtues of that great officer. He rose to the rank of principal centurion; but his sudden advancement, obtained as it was by treacherous arts, proved his ruin in the end. Antonius, in conjunction with this commander, took possession of Aquileia. The adjacent towns submitted with alacrity. At Opitergium (*b*) and Altinum they were received with demonstrations of joy. At the last of those places a garrison was left to check the operations of the fleet stationed at Ravenna, which was not then known to have revolted. The cities of Patavium and Ateste (*c*) made a voluntary surrender. The two generals received intelligence that three Vitellian cohorts, with the squadron of horse called Scriboniana, had taken post at Forum Allienum (*d*), and, after throwing up  
a bridge,

a bridge, loitered away the time in careless security. The opportunity seemed fair to attack them by surprise. At the dawn of day the place was taken by storm, before the enemy had time to get under arms. It had been previously issued out in orders, that, after a moderate slaughter, the assailants should give quarter to the rest, and by the terror of their arms force them to join Vespasian's party. Numbers surrendered at discretion; but the greater part broke down the bridge, and saved themselves by flight.

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VII. THE fame of a victory, obtained in the beginning of the war, made an impression favourable to Vespasian's cause. In a short time after, two legions, namely, the seventh, called GALBIANA, and the thirteenth, named GEMINA (*a*), under the command of Vedius Aquila, arrived at Padua. A few days were spent at that place to refresh the men. In that interval, Minucius Justus, præfect of the camp to the seventh legion, enforcing his orders with more severity than was consistent with the nature of a civil war, provoked the fury of the soldiers. He was ordered to join Vespasian, and by that artifice he saved his life. Antonius, at this time, had the judgment to do a public act, which had been long desired, and, by consequence, gave universal satisfaction. He ordered the statues of Galba, which the rage of civil discord had levelled to the ground, to be again set up in all the municipal towns. By doing honour to the memory of Galba (*b*), and reviving the hopes of a ruined party, Antonius had no doubt but he should greatly serve the cause in which he was embarked.

VIII. WHERE to fix the seat of war was now a question of moment. Verona was thought the most eligible spot. In that open champaign country (*a*), the cavalry, in which the strength



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of the army consisted, would have ample space; and the glory of wresting out of the hands of Vitellius a colony so strong and flourishing, would draw after it the greatest advantages. The army pushed forward with rapidity, and, in their march, became masters of Vicetia (*b*); a city in itself of small importance, but being the birth-place of Cæcina, the acquisition was deemed a triumph over the adverse general. The reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover, as it lies between Rhætia and the Julian Alps (*c*), it was a post of importance, where an army in force might command the pass into Italy, and render it impervious to the German armies. Of these operations Vespasian had no knowledge; on the contrary, his orders were, that the troops should halt at Aquileia, and push the war no further till Mucianus arrived with all his force. Vespasian explained the motives that determined his councils. While he was master of Ægypt, the granary of Italy (*d*), and commanded, besides, the revenues of the most opulent provinces, the Vitellian army, for want of pay and provisions, might be forced to capitulate. Mucianus, in all his letters, recommended the same measure; adding, that a victory obtained without blood, and without causing a tear to be shed, would be the truest glory. But those reasons were specious, and ostensible only: avarice of fame was his motive; he wished to engross the whole honour of the war. But the fact was, Vespasian and his general planned their operations in a distant part of the world, and, before their orders could arrive, the blow was struck.

IX. ANTONIUS was not of a temper to remain inactive. He resolved to attempt the stations of the enemy. His attack was sudden; and, after trying in a slight engagement the strength and disposition of the Vitellians, he thought proper to desist. Both

parties retired with equal success. In a short time afterwards Cæcina pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Verona, between the village of Hostilia (*a*) and the morass on the banks of the river Tartarus (*b*). This post afforded him every advantage: he had the river in his rear, and the fens on each flank. He wanted nothing but fidelity. Beyond all question he had it in his power, with the whole strength of his army, to crush two legions under Antonius, who had not yet been joined by the Mælian army, or, at least, he might have forced them by a shameful flight to evacuate Italy. But he trifled away the time with specious delays, and, losing all his opportunities, treacherously sacrificed the most precious moments of the war. He carried on a correspondence with Antonius, content by his letters to debate with a man, whom he ought to have conquered. He continued to temporise, till by secret negotiations he settled the price of perfidy.

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During this suspense, Aponius Saturninus arrived at Verona with the seventh legion, called the CLAUDIAN, under the command of Vipstanius Messala, then in the rank of tribune; a man of illustrious birth, and of a character worthy of his ancestors: of all who entered into that war, the only person who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force (*c*) Cæcina thought proper to dispatch a letter, condemning the rashness of men, who, after their late defeat, presumed again to try the fortune of the field. He extolled the bravery of the German soldiers, making the slightest mention of Vitellius, but with regard to Vespasian not hazarding one disrespectful word. Nor was there in the whole tenour of his letter a single expression that tended either to impress the enemy with fear, or to induce them to revolt. Vespasian's generals



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returned an answer in a style of magnanimity. They entered into no defence of their former conduct; they bestowed the highest praise on Vespasian: relying on the goodness of their cause, they spoke with confidence of the event, and, without reserve, declaimed against Vitellius in the style of men who had nothing to fear. To the tribunes and centurions, who had been rewarded by Vitellius, they promised a continuance of the same favours, and, in explicit terms, invited Cæcina to join their party. The letters of that officer, and the several answers, were read, by order of Antonius, in the hearing of the army. The soldiers observed the caution with which Cæcina spoke of Vespasian, and the undisguised contempt of Vitellius expressed by the Flavian generals. From that circumstance they derived new alacrity, and thorough confidence in their cause.

X. ANTONIUS, reinforced by the arrival of two legions, namely, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numisius Lupus, resolved to make a display of his strength, and inclose Verona with lines of circumvallation. An accident interrupted the progress of the works. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. They perceived at a distance a body of cavalry, and, though in fact they were friends, mistook them for a party of the Vitellians. Thinking themselves betrayed, they seized their arms, and, in the hurry of surprise, charged Ampius Flavianus (*a*) as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they hated the man, and hatred was sufficient evidence of his guilt. They roared and clamoured for his blood; and nothing less, they said, would satisfy their indignation. He was the kinsman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and he had embezzled the donative intended for the soldiers. These reproaches were loud and violent. Flavianus endeavoured

to

to obtain a hearing; he stretched forth his hands; he prostrated himself before them, rent his garments, beat his breast, and with tears and groans endeavoured to mitigate resentment. The men despised him in that abject condition, and from his distress inferred a confession of guilt.

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Aponius Saturninus attempted to speak, but was overpowered by a general clamour. The rest of the officers were silenced in like manner. Antonius was the only person who could make himself heard. To his authority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the soldiers. Their rage, however, did not subside: from foul abuse they proceeded to violence, and even began to brandish their weapons. The general ordered Flavianus to be seized and loaded with irons. This was understood to be no more than a subterfuge to elude the vengeance of the soldiers, who rushed to the tribunal, and, having dispersed the guards, threatened immediate execution. Antonius opposed his bosom to their fury, and, drawing his sword, declared aloud that he would fall by their weapons or his own. He looked around, invoking the assistance of all, whom he either knew, or saw distinguished by any kind of military decoration; he directed his eyes to the eagles and standards, those gods of the camp, and in a pathetic strain implored them to transfuse that frantic spirit into the breasts of the enemy (*b*). At length the sedition began to abate, and day closing apace, the men withdrew to their tents. In the course of the night, Flavianus left the camp. He had not travelled far, when he received letters (*c*) from Vespasian, in a style that left him no room to fear the displeasure of the prince.

XI. THE phrensy of the soldiers did not stop here. It spread as it were by contagion, and fell with violence on Aponius Saturninus,



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ninus, who had brought with him the Mæſian forces. A letter to Vitellius had been intercepted, and he was ſuppoſed to be the author. The ſtory was believed, and all were fired with reſentment. The tumult did not, as before, begin when the ſoldiers were fatigued with the labours of the day ; it broke out at noon, when they were in full vigour, and for that reaſon more to be dreaded. How unlike the ſpirit of ancient times ! Under the old republic, a generous emulation in virtue and heroic valour was the only ſtruggle in a Roman camp : but now to be the foremoſt in ſedition was the grand effort of a depraved and licentious foldiery. The fury that ſhewed itſelf againſt Flavianus was inflamed to madneſs againſt Saturninus. The Mæſian legions made it a merit with the Pannonian army, that, in the late infurrection, they had lent their aſſiſtance ; and, in return, the Pannonians joined their friends, willing to encourage a mutiny, by which they hoped that their own guilt would be juſtified, or at leaſt excuſed. With this ſpirit all were ready to repeat their crime. They ruſhed to the gardens, where Saturninus was walking for recreation. Antonius oppoſed the mutineers ; Meſſala and Aponianus exerted their beſt endeavours, but without effect. If Saturninus had not luckily found a lurking-place, in the furnace of a bath not then in uſe, there is no doubt but he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice. As ſoon as an opportunity offered, he diſmiſſed his liſtors, and made the beſt of his way to Padua. There being now no officer of conſular rank left with the army, the whole command devolved upon Antonius. The ſoldiers were willing to ſubmit to his authority. The other officers declined all competition. But if the general did not, by ſecret practices, excite the two ſeditions, that he alone might gain the honour of the war without a rival, the ſuſpicion, which numbers entertained, was injurious to his character.

XII. DURING

XII. DURING these transactions, the camp of Vitellius was not free from disturbance. The discord there did not originate from suspicions entertained by the soldiers, but had its source in the perfidy of the general officers. Lucilius Bassus (*a*), who commanded the fleet at Ravenna, had already drawn over to his party a number of the marines, all natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, and, those provinces having all already declared for Vespasian, ready to follow the example of their countrymen. The dead of night was chosen as the fit time for carrying their treasonable designs into execution. At that hour, when all was hushed in sleep, the conspirators agreed to meet in the quarter where the colours were deposited. Bassus remained in his own house, conscious of his treachery, or, perhaps, alarmed for himself, and willing to wait the issue. The masters of the galleys began the revolt. They seized the images of Vitellius, and put to the sword all who attempted to resist. The common herd, with their usual love of innovation, went over to Vespasian. Bassus, in that moment, ventured to appear, avowing himself the author of the treason. The fleet immediately chose another commander. Cornelius Fuscus was the person appointed. That officer soon appeared at Ravenna, and took upon him his new commission. By his order, Bassus, under a proper guard, but honourably treated, was obliged to embark for Atria (*b*). At that place, he was thrown into fetters by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded the garrison; but he was soon released at the desire of Hormus, one of Vespasian's freedmen, who, it seems, had the presumption to figure away among the general officers.

XIII. THE defection of the fleet was no sooner known, than Cæcina, having removed out of the way the best part of his army under various pretexts of military duty, called a meeting of the principal centurions, and a select party of soldiers, in the  
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place assigned for the eagles (*a*), the most private part of the camp. He there opened his mind without reserve. He expatiated in praise of Vespasian, and painted forth in glaring colours the strength of the combination formed in his favour. The fleet, he said, had revolted, and, by consequence, Italy would be distressed for provisions. Spain and both the Gauls were up in arms; at Rome the minds of men were wavering, and a storm was ready to burst upon Vitellius. The men, whom Antonius had engaged in the plot, threw off the mask, and the rest, incited by their example, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. The images of Vitellius were torn from the ensigns, and dispatches were sent off with intelligence to the adverse army. This transaction was no sooner known in Cæcina's camp, than the rest of the soldiers rushed in a body to the quarter of the eagles and standards. They saw the name of Vespasian displayed to view, and the images of Vitellius scattered about in fragments. A deep and fullen silence followed. A general uproar soon broke out, and with one voice the men exclaimed, "Where is now the  
"glory of the German armies? Without hazarding a battle, and  
"without a wound, we must lay down our arms, and deliver  
"ourselves to the enemy bound in chains. And to what enemy?  
"To the legions lately vanquished by superior valour; nay, to  
"a part of those legions; for the strength and bulwark of Otho's  
"forces, the first and fourteenth, are not with the army. And  
"is this the issue of our fame in arms, and of our late glorious  
"victory? Did so many brave and gallant soldiers distinguish  
"themselves by their bravery in the field, that they might now,  
"like a drove of slaves, be delivered up to Antonius, a man  
"formerly banished for his crimes (*b*)? The fleet, we are told,  
"has revolted: and shall eight legions be transferred as an ap-  
"pendage to their treachery? Bassus, it seems, will have it so;  
"and such is the pleasure of Cæcina. They have despoiled the  
"prince

“ prince of his houses, his gardens, and his treasure, and they  
 “ want now to rob him of his soldiers; of soldiers, who, with  
 “ swords in their hands, and in full possession of their strength  
 “ and vigour, are to yield without an engagement, and bear  
 “ the scorn and mockery of Vespasian and his party. To such  
 “ as may hereafter desire an account of the battles we have  
 “ fought, and the dangers which we have encountered, what an-  
 “ swer shall we make?”

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XIV. SUCH were the complaints, and such the language, not of individuals only, but of the whole body. Each man spoke his feelings, and all concurred in one general uproar. The fifth legion took the lead; they restored the images of Vitellius; they seized Cæcina, and loaded him with fetters. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, the præfect of the camp, were declared commanders in chief. A party of marines belonging to three light galleys fell into the hands of the enraged soldiery, and, though ignorant of all that passed, and innocent of the late defection, were to a man put to the sword. After this exploit, the discontented troops broke up their camp, and, having demolished the bridge, marched back to Hostilia, and thence to Cremona, where the first legion, called ITALICA, and the one-and-twentieth, known by the name of RAPAX, had been stationed by Cæcina.

XV. APPRISED of these transactions, Antonius resolved, while the enemy was still distracted, and dispersed at different stations, not to let the war languish till the Vitellians began to act with unanimity, and the generals recovered their authority. He knew that Valens had set out from Rome, and Cæcina's treachery, he had reason to think, would make him push forward with expedition to join the army. The zeal of Valens for the cause in



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which he embarked, was sufficiently distinguished, and he was known to be an officer of experience. Besides this, a large body of Germans was expected to force their way through Rhætia into Italy, and Vitellius had sent for succours into Britain, Gaul, and Spain; a formidable preparation, if Antonius had not determined to strike a decisive blow. He moved with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bedriacum. On the following morning, he set the legions to work at the entrenchments, and, under colour of foraging, but in truth to give the men a relish for plunder, sent the auxiliary cohorts to ravage the plains near Cremona. To support them in this expedition, he himself, at the head of four thousand horse, advanced eight miles beyond Bedriacum; while his scouts took a wider range, to discover the motions of the enemy.

XVI. ABOUT the fifth hour of the day, a soldier, at full speed, brought intelligence that the enemy was approaching. He had seen their advanced parties, and distinctly heard the bustle of the whole army. Antonius began to prepare for action. While he was deliberating, Arrius Varus, eager to distinguish himself, advanced at the head of a party of horse, and put the front line of the Vitellians to the rout. The slaughter was inconsiderable. A party of the enemy advanced to support the broken ranks, and changed the fortune of the field. Varus and his men were obliged to give ground, and they, who had pursued with eagerness, were now in the rear of the retreat. In this rash action Antonius had no share. He foresaw the consequence, and now exerted himself to prevent further mischief. Having exhorted his men, he ordered the cavalry to open their ranks, and draw off in two divisions towards the flanks of the army, in order to leave a void space for the reception of Varus and his routed party. The legions were called out, and, in the country

country round, the signal was given to the foraging cohorts to abandon their booty, and repair forthwith to the field of battle. Varus, in the mean time, returned to the main body, covered with dismay, and by his appearance diffusing terror through the ranks. He and his men had retreated with precipitation; the able and the wounded in one promiscuous panic fled before the enemy, all in wild confusion, and, on a narrow causey, obstructing one another.

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XVII. ANTONIUS, in this pressing exigence, omitted nothing that could be expected from a commander of experience and undaunted valour. He rallied the broken ranks; where the men were giving way, by his presence he revived their drooping courage; wherever there was either danger, or an advantage to be taken, he was ready on the spot, with his directions, with his voice, with his sword, inspiring courage, conspicuous in every part of the field, and manifest to the enemy. His courage rose to the highest pitch, and transported him beyond himself. In a noble fit of martial ardour he transfixed with his spear a standard-bearer in the act of flying, and, instantly seizing the colours, advanced against the enemy. This bold exertion had its effect. A party of the cavalry, in number about a hundred, felt the disgrace of deserting their general, and returned to the charge. The nature of the ground favoured Antonius. The causey was narrowest in that part, and the bridge over the river (*a*) that flowed in the rear, being broken down, the men could not pursue their flight where the banks were steep, and the fordable places were unknown. By this restraint, or by some turn of fortune, the battle was restored. The soldiers made a stand, and, having recovered their ranks, received the Vitellians, who rushed on with eagerness, but without order, and in a short time were put to the rout. Antonius pressed on the rear of such as fled,



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and all who resisted died on the spot. The rest of Vespasian's army acted as the impulse of individuals prompted; they secured their prisoners, they seized the arms and horses of the slain, and made the field resound with shouts of victory. The runaways, who had dispersed themselves in various quarters, heard the joyful acclamations of their comrades, and, to claim part of the glory, hurried back to the scene of action.

XVIII. AT the distance of four miles from Cremona, the banners of the two legions called RAPAX (*a*) and ITALICA appeared in view. The advantage gained by the Vitellian cavalry, in the beginning of the day, was their motive for advancing so far; but seeing a reverse of fortune, they neither opened their ranks to receive their flying friends, nor dared to attack an enemy at that time well nigh exhausted by the labours of the day. In the hour of prosperity they despised their general officers, and in their distress began to feel that they wanted an able commander. While they stood at gaze, irresolute, and covered with consternation, the cavalry of Antonius attacked them with impetuous fury. Vipsitanus Messala followed to support the ranks, at the head of the Mælian auxiliaries, who, though they had made a long march, were so well inured to discipline, that they were deemed nothing inferior to the legionary soldiers. The foot and cavalry, acting with united vigour, bore down all opposition. The Vitellians hoped to find within the walls of Cremona a safe shelter from the rage of a pursuing enemy, and for that reason were less inclined to maintain the conflict.

XIX. ANTONIUS did not think it prudent to pursue his advantage: he was content to remain master of the field. The victory, he knew, was dearly bought; and it behoved him to spare both  
men

men and horses, fatigued with toil, and fainting under their wounds. Towards the close of day, the whole force of Vespasian's army arrived, and joined Antonius. Having seen, on their march, the plains covered with dead bodies, and the ground still reeking with blood, they concluded, from so vast a scene of slaughter, that the war was nearly over, and, to give the finishing blow, desired to be led on to Cremona, either to receive a voluntary surrender, or to carry the place by storm. This demand founded like courage and public spirit: but other motives were at the bottom. In their hearts the men argued for their own personal advantage. "Cremona," they said, "was situated  
 "in an open plain, and might be taken by assault. The darkness of the night would not abate their courage, and for spoil  
 "and plunder that was the proper season. If they waited for  
 "the return of day, terms of peace might arrive; a capitulation  
 "would be proposed; and, in that case, what reward was the  
 "soldier to expect for all his labour, and his blood spilt in the  
 "service? The cold, the useless praise of moderation and humanity would be his only recompense, and the wealth of the  
 "place would fall to the principal officers. By the laws of  
 "war, when a town is carried by storm, the booty belongs to the  
 "soldiers; but a surrender transfers the whole to the generals." Inflamed by these considerations, they disdained to listen to the tribunes and centurions; with the clangour of their arms they suppressed the voice of reason, determined, if not led on to the attack, to shake off all authority.

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XX. ANTONIUS made his way through the ranks, and by his presence having commanded silence, spoke as follows: "It  
 "is neither in my temper nor my intention to deprive a set of  
 "gallant soldiers of the glory, or the recompense due to their  
 "valour: but the general, and the men under his command,  
 "have



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“ have their distinct provinces. Courage and ardour for the  
 “ conflict are the soldier’s virtues: to foresee events, to provide  
 “ against disasters, and to plan with deliberation, and even with  
 “ delay, is the duty of the commander in chief. By suspending  
 “ the operations of war, success is often insured: by temerity all  
 “ is put to the hazard. In the last battle I exposed my person,  
 “ I fought in the ranks, I strained every nerve to gain the vic-  
 “ tory: let me now by my experience, by advice, and by pru-  
 “ dent counsels, the true arts of a general, endeavour to termi-  
 “ nate the war with glory. The question at present does not  
 “ admit of a doubt. We have the night before us; the town,  
 “ its entrance, and the condition of the works, are unknown to  
 “ us; the enemy is within the walls, and may try various stra-  
 “ tagems. And if the gates were thrown open, even then,  
 “ without the best intelligence, without broad day-light, and  
 “ without a view of the fortifications, it would be madness to  
 “ venture. And will you hazard an assault, without knowing  
 “ the approaches to the place, the height of the walls, and with-  
 “ out being able to judge whether we ought to batter a breach,  
 “ or by missile weapons drive the enemy from the works?  
 “ Which of you has been provident enough to bring his hatchet,  
 “ his pick-axe, and the various tools which a siege requires?  
 “ With those instruments you are unprovided: and what arm  
 “ among you is strong enough with a sword and spear to sap  
 “ the walls of Cremona? How are we to throw up ramparts?  
 “ and how prepare hurdles and penthouses to cover our ap-  
 “ proach? In the moment of need, must we all stand at gaze,  
 “ wondering at our folly, and the strength of the fortifications?  
 “ Pass but one night, and with our battering engines, and our  
 “ warlike machines, we shall advance in force, and carry victory  
 “ along with us at the point of our swords.” At the close of  
 this harangue he ordered the followers of the camp, escorted by

a select party of the cavalry, to set out for Bedriacum, in order to bring a supply of provisions, and all necessaries for the use of the army.

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XXI. THE soldiers were still dissatisfied, and a mutiny was ready to break out, when a party of horse that went out to scour the country, and advanced as far as the walls of Cremona, returned with intelligence obtained from the stragglers who had fallen into their hands, that the whole Vitellian army encamped at Hostilia, having heard of that day's defeat, made a forced march of thirty miles, and, with a reinforcement of six legions, were near at hand, breathing vengeance, and determined to offer battle. In this alarming crisis the soldiers were willing to listen to their superior officer. Antonius prepared to receive the enemy. He ordered the thirteenth legion to take post on the Posthumian causey; on the open plain, towards their left, he stationed the seventh, called the GALBIAN; and at a small distance the seventh, named the Claudian, on a spot defended by a mere country ditch. On the right he placed the eighth legion, on a wide extended plain, and the third in a thick copse, that stood near at hand. Such was the arrangement of the eagles and standards: the soldiers took their post as chance directed them in the dark. The prætorian banner stood near the third legion; the auxiliary cohorts were in the wings: the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. The two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, with the best troops of their nation, took their post in the front of the lines.

XXII. THE Vitellian army had every advantage, without the skill to profit by their situation. Had they halted that night at Cremona, as prudence dictated, to refresh their men by food and sleep, the engagement, on the next morning, would have been



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been with an enemy chilled by the damps of the night, and faint for want of provisions. A complete victory would, most probably, have been the consequence. But they had no commander. Without conduct or judgment, about the third hour of the night, they made a forward movement, and attacked an army drawn up in order of battle. Of the disposition made by the Vitellians in the gloom of night, without any guide but their own impetuous fury, it will not be expected that I should give an accurate account: we are told, however, that it was as follows. The fourth legion, called *MACEDONICA*, was stationed in the right wing; the fifth and fifteenth, supported by the vexillaries of three British legions, the ninth, the second, and the twentieth, formed the centre: in the left wing stood the first, the sixteenth, and two-and-twentieth. The foldiers of the two legions called *RAPAX* and *ITALICA* were mixed at random throughout the lines. The cavalry and auxiliaries chose their station. The battle lasted through the night with great slaughter on both sides, and alternate success. In the dark, courage gave no superiority; the ardent eye and the vigorous arm were of no avail. All distinction was lost. The weapons on both sides were the same. The watch-word, frequently asked and repeated, was known to both armies. The colours, taken and retaken by different parties, were mixed in wild confusion. The seventh legion, lately raised by Galba, suffered the most. Six of their principal centurions were killed on the spot, and some of their colours taken. The eagle itself was in danger, had not *Attilius Verus*, the principal centurion (*a*), enacted wonders to prevent that disgrace. He made a dreadful carnage, and died, at last, fighting with undaunted bravery.

XXIII. *VESPASIAN*'s army was giving way, when *Antonius* brought the prætorian cohorts into the heat of the action, They

They routed the enemy, and in their turn were forced to retreat. The Vitellians, at this time, changed the position of their battering engines, which, in the beginning, were placed in different parts of the field, and could only play at random against the woods and hedges that sheltered the enemy. They were now removed to the Posthumian way, and thence, having an open space before them, could discharge their missile weapons with good effect. The fifteenth legion had an engine of enormous size (*a*), which was played off with dreadful execution, and discharged massy stones, of weight to crush whole ranks at once. Inevitable ruin must have followed, if two soldiers had not signalized themselves by a brave exploit. Covering themselves with the shields of the enemy which they found among the slain, they advanced undiscovered to the battering engine, and cut the ropes and springs. In this bold adventure they both perished, and with them two names that deserved to be made immortal. The glory of the action is all that can be now recorded.

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The battle was hitherto fought with doubtful success, when, night being far advanced, the moon rose, and discovered the face of things with great advantage to Vespasian's army. The light shone on their backs, and the shadows of men and horses projected forward to such a length, that the Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at the wrong mark. Their darts, by consequence, fell short of their aim. The moon-beams, in the mean time, played on the front of their lines, and gave their bodies in full view to the adverse army, who fought behind their shadows, as if concealed in obscurity.

XXIV. ANTONIUS, at length, was happy that he could see, and be seen. He did every thing to rouse the courage of his men; he upbraided some; he applauded others; he made ample



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promises, and gave hopes to all. He asked the Pannonian legions, what was their motive for taking up arms? "Here," he said, "here is the spot where you may efface the memory of your former defeat: in this field you may redeem your honour." He called aloud to the Mærians, "You were the first movers of the war; you talked in high sounding words; but you talked in vain, if you can neither oppose the sword, nor bear the eye of the enemy." He was busy in every quarter, and had apt words for all. To the third legion he spoke more at large: he called to mind their former and their recent exploits. "They," he said, "were the men, who under Mark Anthony (*a*) defeated the Parthians; and the Armenians, under Corbulo. In a late campaign the Sarmatians fled before them." The prætorians called forth his indignation: "Now," he said, "now is your time to conquer, or renounce the name of soldiers. If you give way, you will be deemed no better than a band of peasants. What general, or what camp, will receive you? Your ensigns and your colours are in the hands of the enemy. You may there regain them; you now must conquer, or be put to the sword; after your late disgrace there is no alternative." A general shout resounded through the field; and in that moment the third legion, according to the custom observed in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun (*b*).

XXV. THIS eastern form of worship, either by chance, or by the contrivance of Antonius, gave rise to a sudden report that Mucianus was arrived, and that the two confederate armies exchanged mutual salutations. Animated by this incident, Vespasian's soldiers, as if actually reinforced, charged with redoubled fury. The Vitellian ranks began to give way. Left to their own impulse, without a chief to conduct the battle, they extended

tended or condensed their lines as fear or courage prompted. Antonius saw their confusion. He ordered his men to advance in a close compacted body. The loose and scattered numbers of the enemy gave way at once. The carriages and engines, that lay at random in various parts of the field, made it impossible to restore the order of the battle. The victors, eager to pursue their advantage, pushed forward to the caufey, and, having gained a sure footing, made a dreadful carnage.

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An incident, that happened in the heat of the action, gave a shock to humanity. A father was killed by his own son. The fact and the names of the men are recorded by Vipstanius Messala: upon his authority I shall state the particulars. Julius Manfuetus, a native of Spain, enrolled himself in the legion already mentioned by the name of RAPAX. He left behind him a son then of tender years. The youth, grown up to manhood, enlisted in the seventh legion raised by Galba. In the hurry and tumult of the fight, he met his father, and with a mortal wound stretched him on the ground. He stooped to examine and rifle the body. The unhappy father raised his eyes, and knew his son. The son, in return, acknowledged his dying parent; he burst into tears; he clasped his father in his arms; and, in the anguish of his heart, with earnest supplications intreated him not to impute to his unhappy son the detestable crime of parricide. "The deed," he said, "is horrible, but it is not mine; it is the guilt of civil war. In the general madness of the state, the act of one poor wretched soldier is a small portion of the public misery." He then opened a grave, embraced the body, and, with filial affection raising it in his arms, discharged the last melancholy duty to his murdered father.



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This pathetic scene did not escape observation. A few drew near, others were attracted, and in a short time the fatal deed was known throughout the army. The soldiers heaved a sigh, and with curses execrated the frantic rage of civil discord. And yet, with those sentiments, they went the next moment to plunder their slaughtered friends, their relations, and brothers. They called it a crime, and yet repeated what their hearts condemned.

XXVI. THE conquerors pushed on to Cremona, and no sooner drew near the place, than they saw a new difficulty still to be surmounted. In the war with Otho, the German legions had formed a camp round the walls of the town, and fortified it with lines of circumvallation. New works were added afterwards. The victors stood astonished at the sight, and even the generals were at a stand, undecided what plan to pursue. With troops harassed and worn out by continued exertions through the night and day, an attempt to carry the place by storm was not advisable, and, without succours at hand, might be dangerous; and yet the march to Bedriacum would be a laborious undertaking, and to retreat were to give up the fruit of a victory dearly earned. In their present situation, it would be necessary to throw up entrenchments; and that work, in the face of an enemy on the watch to fall out, might put every thing to the hazard. A difficulty still greater than all arose from the temper of the men, who shewed themselves, at all times, insensible of danger, and impatient of delay. A state of security was a state of listless indolence, and daring enterprise was the proper occupation of a soldier. Wounds, and blood, and slaughter, were nothing to men who thought that plunder can never be too dearly bought.

XXVII. ANTONIUS judged it best to yield to the disposition

sition of his men. He invested the works, determined to risk a general assault. The attack began at a distance, with a volley of stones and darts. The advantage was on the side of the besieged. They possessed the heights, and with surer aim annoyed the enemy at the foot of the ramparts. Antonius saw the necessity of dividing his operations: to some of the legions he assigned distinct parts of the works, and ordered others to advance against the gates. By this mode of attack in different quarters, he knew that valour as well as cowardice would be conspicuous, and a spirit of emulation would animate the whole army. The third and seventh legions took their station opposite to the road that leads to Bedriacum; the seventh and eighth Claudian legions carried on the siege on the right hand of the town; and the thirteenth invested the gate that looked towards Brixia (*a*). In this position the troops rested on their arms, till they were supplied from the neighbouring villages with pick-axes, spades, and hooks, and scaling ladders. Being, at length, provided with proper weapons, they formed a military shell with their shields, and, under that cover, advanced to the ramparts. The Roman art of war was seen on both sides. The Vitellians rolled down massy stones, and, wherever they saw an opening, inserting their long poles and spears, rent asunder the whole frame and texture of the shields, while the assailants, deprived of shelter, suffered a terrible slaughter.

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XXVIII. THE assault was no longer pushed on with vigour. The generals saw that their exhortations had no effect, and that mere praise was a barren recompense. To inspire the men with courage, they pointed to Cremona as the reward of victory. Whether this expedient was, as Messala informs us, suggested by Hormus, or, on the authority of Caius Plinius (*a*), must be laid to the account of Antonius, we have now no means of knowing.



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knowing. Whoever was the author of a deed so cruel and flagitious, neither of those two officers can be said to have degenerated from his former principles. The place being thus devoted to plunder, nothing could restrain the ardour of the soldiers. Braving wounds, and danger, and death itself, they began to sap the foundation of the walls; they battered the gates; they braced their shields over their heads; and, mounting on the shoulders of their comrades, they grappled with the besieged, and dragged them headlong from the ramparts. A dreadful havoc followed. The unhurt, the wounded, the maimed, and the dying, fell in one promiscuous heap; and death, in all its forms, presented a spectacle of horror.

XXIX. THE most vigorous assault was made by the third and the seventh legions. To support them, Antonius in person led on a select body of auxiliaries. The Vitellians were no longer able to sustain the shock. They saw their darts fall on the military shell (*a*), and glide off without effect. Enraged at their disappointment, in a fit of despair they rolled down their battering engine on the heads of the besiegers. Numbers were crushed by the fall of such a ponderous mass. It happened, however, that the machine drew after it the parapet and part of the rampart. An adjoining tower, which had been incessantly battered, fell at the same time, and left a breach for the troops to enter. The seventh legion, in the form of a wedge, endeavoured to force their way, while the third hewed down the gate. The first man that entered, according to all historians, was Caius Volusius, a common soldier of the third legion. He gained the summit of the rampart, and, bearing down all resistance, with his voice, with his sword made himself conspicuous to his comrades, crying aloud, "The camp is taken." The rest of the legion followed him with resistless fury. The Vitellians,

lians, in despair, threw themselves headlong from the works. The conquerors pursued their advantage with dreadful slaughter. The whole space between the camp and the walls of Cremona was one continued scene of blood (*b*).

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XXX. THE town itself presented new difficulties, high walls, and towers of stone, the gates secured by iron bars, and the works well manned with troops, that shewed themselves on the ramparts, in force, and brandishing their arms. The inhabitants, a large and numerous body, were all devoted to Vitellius, and the annual fair, which was then held, had drawn together a prodigious conflux from all parts of Italy. This appeared to the garrison in the nature of a reinforcement; but it was, at the same time, an accession of wealth that inflamed the ardour of the besiegers. Antonius ordered his men to advance with missive combustibles, and set fire to the pleasant villas that lay round the city, in hopes that the inhabitants, seeing their mansions destroyed, would more readily submit to a capitulation. In the houses that stood near the walls, of a height to overlook the works, he placed the bravest of his troops; and, from those stations, large rafts of timber, stones, and firebrands were thrown in upon the garrison. The Vitellians were no longer able to maintain their post.

XXXI. THE legions under Antonius were now preparing for a general assault. They formed their military shell, and advanced to the works, while the rest of the army poured in a volley of stones and darts. The besieged began to despair; their spirit died away by degrees, and the men high in rank were willing to make terms for themselves. If Cremona was taken by storm, they expected no quarter. The conquerors, in that case, disdaining vulgar lives, would fall on the tribunes and centurions,



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turions, from whom the largest booty was to be expected. The common men, as usual, careless about future events, and safe in indigence and obscurity, were still for making head against the enemy. They roamed about the streets in sullen obstinacy, or loitered in private houses, neither making war, nor thinking of peace. The principal officers took down the name and images of Vitellius. Cæcina was still in confinement. They released him from his fetters, and desired his good offices with the conqueror. He heard their petition with disdain, swelling with pride and insolence in proportion to the meanness with which they implored his aid. The last stage of human misery! when so many brave and gallant men were obliged to sue to a traitor for protection. As a signal of submission, they hung out from the walls the sacerdotal scarfs (*a*) and sacred vestments. Antonius ordered a cessation of hostilities. The garrison marched out with the eagles and standards. The procession was slow and melancholy; the soldiers without their arms, dejection in their countenance, and their eyes rivetted to the ground. The conquerors gathered round them, with taunts and ribaldry insulting their misfortunes, and even threatening violence to their persons. But the humility of the vanquished, and the passive temper with which they bore every indignity, without a trace remaining of their former ferocity, awakened compassion in every breast. It was now remembered, that these very men conquered at Bedriacum, and used their victory with moderation. At length Cæcina came forth in his ornamental robes, with all the pomp of a consular magistrate, the lictors preceding him, and opening way for him through the crowd. The indignation due to a traitor broke forth at once. The soldiers treated him with every mark of contempt; they reproached him for his pride, his cruelty, and even for his treachery: so true it is, that villany is sure to be detested by the very people who have profited by it. Antonius snatched

snatched him from the fury of the men, and soon after sent him, properly escorted, to Vespasian.

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XXXII. THE common people of Cremona, in the midst of so many soldiers flushed with the pride of victory, were in danger of being all put to the sword, if the general officers had not interfered to prevent the effusion of blood. Antonius called an assembly of the army. He spoke of the conquerors in magnificent terms, and of the vanquished with humanity. He mentioned Cremona with reserve and cold indifference. But the men were bent on the ruin of the colony. To their love of plunder they added an implacable aversion to the people, and various motives conspired to work the destruction of the place. In the war against Otho the inhabitants were deemed the secret abettors of Vitellius; and afterwards, when the thirteenth legion was left among them to build an amphitheatre, the populace, in their usual strain of vulgar humour, made the soldiers an object of derision. In addition to this, the spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina was turned into a crime against the people. Their city was now, for the second time, the seat of war; and, in the heat of the last engagement, the Vitellians were thence supplied with refreshments, and some of their women, who had been led into the field of battle by their zeal for the cause, were slain among the ranks. But above all, the well-known opulence of the colony, increased, in that juncture, by the vast concourse attracted to the fair with their goods and merchandise, was a decisive argument for the demolition of the place. Antonius by his fame and brilliant success eclipsed all the other commanders. The attention of the men was fixed on him alone. Determined, however, to be neutral on the occasion, he retired to a bath to refresh himself after the fatigue of the day. Finding the water not sufficiently warm, he said in a careless manner, "It will be hot enough in a



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“little time.” That trifling expression, dropt by accident amongst his slaves, was afterwards caught up, and propagated to his prejudice, as if it were the intended signal for setting fire to Cremona. At that moment the city was in a blaze.

XXXIII. FORTY thousand men had entered sword in hand. The number of slaves and mean attendants of the camp was still greater, all bent on mischief, and more inclined to acts of barbarity than even the soldiers. Neither sex, nor age, nor dignity of rank was spared. A scene of blood was laid, and, amidst the horrors of a general massacre, lust and violation triumphed. Old men and ancient matrons, who had no wealth to satisfy avarice, were dragged forth with scorn, and butchered with derision. The young and comely of either sex were sure to suffer the brutal passions of abandoned men, or to be torn piecemeal in the struggle for the possession of their persons. In those conflicts the contending rivals, in the rage of disappointed lust, turned their swords against each other. The men, who were seen carrying off the wealth of houses, or massy gold from the temples, were attacked and butchered by others as rapacious as themselves. Not content with the treasures that lay open to their view, they put several to the rack, in order to extort a confession of concealed riches. The ground was dug up to gratify the rage of avarice. Numbers carried flaming torches, and, as soon as they had brought forth their booty, made it their sport to set the houses and temples on fire. In so vast a multitude, as dissonant in their language as their manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreign auxiliaries, all the fell passions of mankind were crowded together. Each soldier had his peculiar notions of right and wrong; and what one scrupled, another dared to execute. Nothing was unlawful, nothing sacred. Four days were spent in the destruction of this unfortunate city. Things profane and holy perished

in the flames. The temple of Mephitis (*a*), which stood on the outside of the walls, was the only structure left entire. It was saved by its situation, or, perhaps, by the goddess to whom it was dedicated.

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XXXIV. SUCH was the fate of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-six years from its foundation. The first stone was laid during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, at the time when Hannibal threatened an irruption into Italy. The design was to have a frontier town, to bridle the Gauls inhabiting beyond the Po, or any power on the other side of the Alps. The colony, from that time, grew into celebrity; their numbers multiplied, and their wealth increased; the country round was intersected with rivers; the soil was fertile, and by intermarriages (*a*) the inhabitants formed alliances with the neighbouring towns of Italy. The city continued to flourish in the worst of times, safe from foreign enemies, till ruined at last by the rage of civil war. Antonius felt that the whole disgrace of this horrible transaction pressed hard upon himself. To soften resentment, he issued an edict, forbidding all manner of persons to detain the citizens of Cremona as prisoners of war. At the same time, all Italy entered into a resolution not to purchase the captives taken on that melancholy occasion. The soldiers, finding that their prey was rendered useless, began to murder the wretches whom they could not sell. This barbarity, however, was checked as soon as known. The prisoners were ransomed by their friends and relations. The survivors in a short time returned to Cremona. The temples and public places were rebuilt, at the recommendation of Vespasian, by the munificence of the colony.

XXXV. A CITY buried in its own ruins, the country round  
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polluted with gore, and the air infected by the exhalation of putrid bodies, afforded no place where the army could remain. They encamped at the distance of three miles. The Vitellian foldiers, who in their panic had fled different ways, were brought back, as fast as they were found, and once more enrolled in their proper companies; and, lest the legions to which they belonged should meditate hostile designs, they were sent into Illyricum, and there stationed, at a distance from the seat of war. To spread the fame of Vespasian's arms, messengers were dispatched into Britain and both the Spains. Julius Calenus, one of the tribunes, was sent into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, the præfect of a cohort, into Germany. The former was by birth an Æduan, and the latter a native of Treves; both warmly attached to Vitellius, and, for that reason, chosen, with an air of triumph, to bear the news of his defeat. Care was also taken to secure by a chain of posts the passes over the Alps, to prevent an irruption from Germany, supposed, at that time, to be in arms in favour of the vanquished party.

XXXVI. VITELLIUS, in a few days after Cæcina set out from Rome, prevailed on Fabius Valens to take upon him the conduct of the war. From that moment he gave himself up to his usual gratifications, in wine and gluttony losing all sense of danger. He made no preparation for the field, and shewed no attention to the foldiers. He neither reviewed, nor exercised, nor harangued them; never once appeared before the people. Hid in the recess of his gardens, he indulged his appetite, forgetting the past, the present, and all solicitude about future events; like those nauseous animals that know no care, and, while they are supplied with food, remain in one spot, torpid and insensible. In this state of stupidity he passed his time in the grove of Aricinum (*a*), when the treachery of Lucilius Bassus,

and

and the revolt of the fleet at Ravenna, roused him from his lethargy. In a short time after arrived other dispatches, by which he learned, with mixed emotions of grief and joy, the perfidy of Cæcina, and his imprisonment by the soldiers. In a mind like his, incapable of reflection, joy prevailed over every other passion, and absorbed all ideas of danger. He returned to Rome in the highest exultation; and having extolled, before an assembly of the people, the zeal and ardour of the army, he ordered Publius Sabinus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, and the intimate friend of Cæcina, to be taken into custody. Alphenus Varus succeeded to the command.

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XXXVII. VITELLIUS went next to the senate, and, in a speech of prepared eloquence, talked highly of the posture of affairs. The fathers answered him in a strain of flattery. The case of Cæcina was brought into debate by Lucius Vitellius. He moved that immediate judgment should be pronounced against him. The rest of the senate concurred; and, with well acted indignation, launched out against the complicated perfidy of a man, who in the character of consul abandoned the commonwealth, as a general officer betrayed his prince, and, as a friend loaded with honours, gave an example of base ingratitude. In this specious manner they affected to lament the lot of Vitellius, but, in fact, felt only for themselves and the commonwealth. Through the whole debate, not a word was uttered against the leaders of Vespasian's party; the revolt of the several armies was called, in qualifying terms, an error in judgment; and, with studied circuitry, the name of Vespasian was wholly avoided. They alluded to him, they hesitated, and yet passed him by in silence. To complete the consulship of Cæcina one day remained. To fill that little interval, a man was found willing to be invested with the short-lived pageantry; and, accordingly, on the



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the day preceding the calends of November, Rosius Regulus entered on the office, and on the same day finished his career. The public saw with derision a farce of state altogether ridiculous, as well on the part of the prince, who granted the mock dignity, as on that of the sycophant, who had the pitiful ambition to accept it. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that no instance had ever occurred of a new consul, before the office was declared vacant in due course of law. Caninius Rebilus (*a*), it is true, had been the consul of a day; but that was in the time of Julius Cæsar, when that emperor, in haste to reward his friends for their services in the civil wars, thought fit, by an act of power, to shorten the duration of the consulship.

XXXVIII. THE death of Junius Blæsus became at this time publicly known, and engrossed the conversation of all ranks of men. The particulars of this tragic event, as far as they have come to my knowledge, are as follows. It happened that Vitellius, confined by illness in the gardens of Servilius, saw, in the night time, a tower in the neighbourhood gaily illuminated. He desired to know the reason of that splendid appearance, and was told, that Cæcina Tuscus gave a grand entertainment to a party of his friends, amongst whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished. The sumptuous preparations, and the mirth of the company, were described with every circumstance of exaggeration. The creatures of the court did not fail to impute it as a crime to Tuscus and his guests, that they chose their time for revelling, in an unseasonable juncture, when the prince was indisposed. Their malice chiefly glanced at Blæsus. The men, who made it their business to pry into the secret thoughts of the emperor, soon perceived that they had infused their venom with success, and that the ruin of Blæsus might be easily accomplished.

To

To make sure of their blow, they applied to Lucius Vitellius, who readily undertook to manage the accusation. Being himself stained with every vice, and for his life and morals universally decried, he saw with envy the fair reputation and the popular esteem that attended Blæsus. With this jealousy rankling in his heart, he clasped the emperor's infant son in his arms, and, entering the prince's chamber, went down on his knees. Vitellius asked him, Why that sudden alarm? "It is not for myself," replied the brother, "that I am thus distressed: it is for you I shed these tears; for you and your children I come to offer up my prayers and supplications. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear: the German legions are in arms to hinder his approach; the provinces declare against him, and vast tracts of sea and land detain him at a distance from the seat of war. The enemy to be dreaded is near at hand; he is in the city of Rome; he is even now lurking in your bosom. Proud of his descent from Mark Anthony and the Julian family, he affects to be connected with the imperial line, and, by caresses and a style of magnificence, endeavours to conciliate to himself the affections of the soldiers. Upon this man all eyes are fixed. Vitellius, in the mean time, passes away his hours in unsuspecting security, neglecting at once his enemies and his friends; he cherishes in his bosom a treacherous rival, who from the banqueting table, and his scene of midnight revelry, beheld with joy the languid condition of his sovereign. But for joy and riot let him be repaid with vengeance, and a night of mourning; let him know that Vitellius lives; that he is master of the Roman world, and, whenever the lot of humanity shall call him hence, that he has a son to follow in the order of succession."

XXXIX. VITELLIUS balanced, for some time, between the  
horror



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horror of the deed proposed and his apprehensions for himself. By deferring the fate of Blæsus, he might accelerate his own ruin, and to give public orders for his execution were a dangerous expedient. A measure so bold and open would excite the indignation of the people. To dispatch him by poison seemed to be the safest method. That he was guilty of that execrable villany, the visit which he paid to Blæsus leaves no room to doubt. He was seen transported with savage joy, and was heard to say, "I have feasted my eyes with the pangs of an expiring enemy." Those were his words. The character of Blæsus was without a blemish. To the dignity of his birth, and the elegance of his manners, he united the strictest honour, and unshaken fidelity to the emperor. While Vitellius was still flourishing in prosperity, Cæcina, and other chiefs of the party, endeavoured to draw him into a league with themselves; but he was proof against all temptation; firm, upright, void of ambition. He sought no sudden honours, and to a mind like his the imperial dignity had no allurements. And yet his modesty threw such a lustre round his virtues, that he narrowly escaped being deemed worthy of the succession.

XL. DURING these transactions, Fabius Valens, with a number of concubines and eunuchs in his train, proceeded by slow and tedious marches, unlike a general going to a great and important war. On the road he received intelligence of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Had he then pushed on with vigour, he might have joined Cæcina, who was still wavering and undecided; at the worst, he might have put himself at the head of the legions before they came to a decisive action. His friends were of opinion, that, with a few faithful attendants, avoiding the road that led to Ravenna, he ought to proceed, with expedition, through  
private

private ways to Hostilia or Cremona. Others pressed him to bring into the field the prætorian bands from Rome, and force his way to the Vitellian army. But the time was lost in fruitless deliberation. The posture of affairs called for vigour, and Valens remained irresolute and inactive. In the end, rejecting all advice, he chose a middle course, in pressing exigencies always the most pernicious. He neither acted with the courage nor the prudence of an able general.

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XLI. HE sent dispatches to Vitellius for a reinforcement, and was soon after joined by three cohorts and a squadron of horse from Britain; a number too great to steal a march, and too weak to open a passage through an enemy's country. Even in this arduous juncture, amidst the dangers that pressed on every side, Valens was not to be weaned from his favourite vices. Riot, lust, and adultery marked his way. He had power and money; and, even in ruin, his libidinous passions did not desert him. He was no sooner joined by the foot and cavalry sent by Vitellius, than he saw, too late, the folly of his measures. With his whole force, supposing the men true to Vitellius, he could not hope to penetrate through the adverse army; much less could he expect it, when their fidelity was already suspected. Shame, and respect for their general, still left some impression on the minds of the men; but those were feeble restraints, when the love of enterprise was the ruling passion, and all principle was extinguished. Valens felt the difficulty of his situation. Having ordered the cohorts to march forward to Ariminum (*a*), and the cavalry to follow in the rear, he himself, with a few adherents whom adversity had not yet seduced, directed his course towards Umbria (*b*), and thence to Etruria, where he first heard of the defeat at Cremona. In that disastrous moment he conceived a bold design, in its extent vast and magnificent, and,



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had it been carried into execution, big with fatal consequences. He proposed to seize the ships on the coast, and bear away to Narbon Gaul, in order to land somewhere in that country, and rouse the provinces of Gaul, with the armies stationed there, and the various German nations. The project was worthy of a great officer, and, by its consequences, must have involved the world in a new war.

XLII. THE departure of Valens threw the garrison of Ariminum into consternation. Cornelius Fuscus advanced, at the head of his army, to lay siege to the place, and, having ordered the fleet to sail round the coast, invested it by sea and land. His forces spread themselves over the plains of Umbria, and stretched into the territory of Picenum (*a*) as far as the Adriatic gulf. Italy was now divided between Vespasian and Vitellius by the Apennine mountains. Valens embarked at the port of Pisa (*b*), but being becalmed, or meeting with contrary winds, was forced to land at Monaco (*c*). Marius Maturus, the governor of the maritime Alps, was then in the neighbourhood; a man attached to Vitellius, and, though the country round espoused the opposite interest, still firm in his duty. This officer received Valens with open arms; but the design of making an attempt on the coast of Narbon Gaul, appeared to him rash and impracticable. By his advice the project was laid aside. The few followers, who had hitherto adhered to Valens, began to think of shifting for themselves. They saw the adjacent cities going over to Valerius Paulinus, who commanded in the neighbourhood; an officer of distinguished merit, and, long before the war broke out, devoted to Vespasian. Under his influence the people declared for the new emperor.

XLIII. PAULINUS was master of Forojulium, a place of  
import-

importance, that gave him the command of those seas. He had there stationed a garrison, consisting of men disbanded by Vitellius, and therefore willing to take up arms against him. Paulinus was a native of the colony, and had, by consequence, great weight with his countrymen. He had also been a tribune of the prætorian guards, and was held in high esteem by the soldiers of that description. The people were willing to second the views of their fellow citizen, and the hope of future advantages from his elevation was a spur to their zeal. In this posture of affairs, while every thing was swelled by the voice of fame to greater magnitude, Valens saw the spirit of the Vitellian party depressed and broken. To return to his ships was now his only refuge. He took with him four prætorians, three faithful friends, and as many centurions. With those attendants he once more embarked, leaving Maturus, and such as were willing to submit to Vespasian, to pursue their own inclination. As to himself, the open sea was his safest place: on shore he saw no security, and in the adjacent cities no prospect of relief. Without a resource left, and rather seeing what was to be avoided than what he ought to pursue, he put to sea, and was thrown by adverse winds on the islands called the Stæchades (*a*), near Marseilles. Paulinus, without loss of time, sent out his light-armed galleys, and Valens was taken prisoner.

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XLIV. THE Vitellian general being now in the hands of the enemy, the whole force of the empire was transferred to Vespasian. In Spain, the first legion, called ADJUTRIX, still respecting the memory of Otho, and by consequence hostile to Vitellius, gave an example of revolt to the rest of the army. The tenth and sixth legions followed. The provinces of Gaul acceded without hesitation. In Britain the same spirit prevailed. During the reign of Claudius, Vespasian headed the second



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legion; and the men, still remembering the heroic ardour with which he led them on to victory, were soon decided in his favour. They met, however, some opposition from the other legions, in which a considerable number of centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, were unwilling to desert a prince, to whom they felt themselves bound by ties of gratitude. It was with reluctance that they were brought to acknowledge a new master.

XLV. ENCOURAGED by the dissension among the legions, and also by the civil wars that distracted the empire, the Britons renewed their ancient animosity. Venufius headed the malecontents. To his own natural ferocity that chieftain added a rooted antipathy to the Roman name. He was, besides, the avowed enemy of Cartismandua (*a*), queen of the Brigantes; a woman of high descent, and flourishing in all the splendour of wealth and power. In the reign of Claudius, she had treacherously delivered up Caractacus, to swell the pomp of that emperor's triumph. From that time riches flowed in upon her; but riches drew after them their usual appendages, luxury and dissipation. She banished from her presence Venufius her husband, and raised Velloctatus, his armour-bearer, to her throne and bed. By that criminal act she lost all authority. Convulsions shook her kingdom. The discarded husband had the people on his side, while the adulterer had nothing to protect him but the libidinous passions of the queen, and the cruelty of her reign. Venufius was in a short time at the head of a powerful army. The subjects of the queen flocked to his standard, and a body of auxiliaries joined him. Cartismandua was reduced to the last extremity. She invoked the protection of the Romans, who sent some cohorts and squadrons of horse to her relief. Several battles ensued, with various success. The queen, however,

ever, was rescued from impending danger, though she lost her kingdom. Venusius wrested the sceptre out of her hands, and the Romans were involved in a war.

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XLVI. ABOUT the same time, Germany was up in arms. The seditious spirit of the legions, and the sluggish inactivity of the commanders, encouraged the Barbarians to invade the Roman frontiers. By the treachery of the states in alliance, and the strength of the enemy, the interest of the empire was brought to the brink of ruin. Of this war, and the causes that produced it, with the various events that followed, I shall hereafter (*a*) give a regular account: it would lead at present to a long digression. Commotions, about the same time, broke out in Dacia. Fidelity never was the character of that nation; and, since the legions were withdrawn from Mæsia, there remained no force to hold the people in subjection. They had the policy, however, to watch in silence the first movements of civil discord among the Romans. Seeing, at length, that Italy was in a blaze, they seized their opportunity, and stormed the winter quarters of the cohorts and the cavalry. Having made themselves masters of both banks of the Danube, they were preparing to raze to the ground the camp of the legions, when Mucianus, apprised of the victory at Cremona, sent the sixth legion to check the incursions of the enemy. The good fortune that had often favoured the Roman arms, brought Mucianus in the moment of distress, with the forces of the east, to quell the insurrection, before the people of that country, backed by the German nations, could make an irruption into Italy. In that juncture, Fonteius Agrippa (*b*) arrived from Asia, where he had governed for a year with proconsular authority, and was now appointed to command in Mæsia. He undertook the charge, at the head of an army composed of Vitellian soldiers, whom it was then the policy to disperse through  
the



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the provinces, and employ their arms against the foreign enemies of the empire.

XLVII. THE rest of the provinces were by no means free from commotion. A man who had been originally a slave, and afterwards commanded a royal fleet, kindled the flame of war in Pontus, and drew together a body of men in arms. His name was Anicetus (*a*), the freedman and favourite minister of Polemon, high in power while that monarchy lasted, but now enraged to see the kingdom turned into a Roman province. In the name of Vitellius he roused the nations bordering on the Pontic sea. The hope of plunder attracted to his standard all the freebooters of the country. Finding himself in a short time at the head of a force not to be despised, he attacked and carried by assault the city of Trapezund (*b*), founded in ancient times by a colony from Greece, at the extremity of the Pontic sea. An entire cohort, formerly a royal garrison, was put to the sword. The men had received the privilege of Roman citizens (*c*), and, from that time, used the arms and banners of Rome, still retaining their native indolence, and the dissolute manners of the Greeks. This adventurer, after his first exploit, set fire to Vespasian's fleet, and put out to sea safe from pursuit, as the best of the light galleys, by order of Mucianus, were stationed at Byzantium. Encouraged by his example, the Barbarians on the coast began a piratical war. They roamed about in boats of a particular structure, the sides, broad at the bottom, and growing narrow by degrees, in the form of a curve, and neither bound with hoops of iron nor of brass. In a tempestuous sea, they raise the sides with additional planks in proportion to the swell of the waves, till the vessel is covered over with an arched roof, and thence is called the floating CAMERA (*d*). At either end they have a sharp-pointed prow; their oars are readily shifted to work back-

backward or forward, moving with facility in either direction, and thus their mariners advance or retreat with ease and security.

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XLVIII. VESPASIAN thought it of moment to chase this band of pirates from the seas, and, for this purpose, sent a detachment of the legions under the command of Virgilius Geminus, an officer of known experience. He came up with the Barbarians, as they were roaming on the shore in quest of prey, and forced them to fly with precipitation to their boats. Having, in a short time after, constructed a number of galleys fit for the service, he gave chase to Anicetus, and drove him up the mouth of the river Cohibus (*a*); a station where the freebooter thought himself safe under the protection of the king of the Sedochezan nation (*b*). By money and various presents he had purchased the friendship of that prince, and for a short time enjoyed the advantage of his alliance. The king threatened to take up arms in his defence; but finding that he was to choose between bribery or an impending war, he preferred his interest, and, with the usual treachery of Barbarians, having struck a bargain for the life of his friend, surrendered the whole party to the Romans. In this manner ended the servile war.

The issue of this piratical war gave the highest satisfaction to Vespasian; and, to fill the measure of his joy, an account of the victory at Cremona reached him in Ægypt. Without loss of time, he set out for Alexandria, with intent, since Vitellius could no longer keep the field, to reduce the people of Rome by famine; a project easily accomplished, as that city, for its subsistence, always depends on foreign supplies. It was also part of his plan to secure the coast of Africa both by land and sea little doubting, when all resources were cut off, but he should involve  
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the Vitellian party in all the miseries of want, and, by consequence, in dissensions among themselves.

XLIX. WHILE things in every quarter of the world tended with rapidity to a revolution, and the imperial dignity was passing into the hands of a new sovereign, Antonius, flushed with his success at Cremona, no longer preserved the moderation that marked his conduct before that important event. The war he thought so far decided, that every thing would be speedily settled; or, perhaps, the sunshine of prosperity called forth the seeds of pride, of avarice, and the other vices of his nature. He considered Italy as a conquered country; he caressed the soldiers, as if he intended to secure them to himself; by his words and actions he seemed resolved to establish his own power; he encouraged the licentious spirit of the army, and left to the legions the nomination of centurions to fill the vacant posts of such as were slain in battle. The consequence was, that the most bold and turbulent were chosen, and discipline went to ruin. The officers lost all authority, and the soldiers commanded. The army being wholly corrupted by these popular but seditious arts, Antonius thought he might safely give the reins to his avarice, and began by public rapine to enrich himself. The approach of Mucianus was no restraint, though to incur the displeasure of that commander, was more dangerous than to offend Vespasian himself.

L. THE winter being now at hand, and the country laid under water by the overflowing of the Po, the army was obliged to march lightly equipped. The eagles and banners of the victorious legions, with the old, the wounded, and even numbers in full vigour, were left at Verona. The cohorts and cavalry, with a select detachment from the legions, were thought sufficient  
against

against an enemy already vanquished. The eleventh legion, at first unwilling to enter into the war, but since the turn of affairs regretting that they had no share in the victory, had lately joined the army, accompanied by six thousand Dalmatians, newly levied. The whole body was, in appearance, led by Poppæus Silvanus, a man of consular rank; but, in fact, Annius Bassus governed their motions by his skill and advice. Silvanus had no military talents: in the moment that called for enterprize, he was more inclined to waste the time in words, than to act with vigour. Bassus assisted him with his best counsels, appearing to obey, but in truth commanding. To this body of forces was added the flower of the marines from the fleet at Ravenna, who had desired to be considered as legionary soldiers. The fleet, in the mean time, was manned by the Dalmatians. The army proceeded as far as the temple of Fortune (*a*), and there made halt by order of the chiefs, who had not yet settled their plan of operations. They had received intelligence that the prætorian cohorts were on their march from Rome, and the passes over the Apennine were supposed to be in the possession of the enemy. In a country laid waste by war, they dreaded the danger of wanting provisions; and the clamours of the soldiers demanding the donative, by the army called CLAVARIUM (*b*), were loud, and tending to sedition. The generals had no money in their military chest, and their provisions were exhausted by the rapacity of the soldiers, who seized the stores, which ought to have been distributed with frugal management.

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LI. A FACT extraordinary in its nature, and yet vouched by writers of good authority, will serve to shew how little of moral rectitude and natural sentiment remained in the minds of the victorious army. A common soldier belonging to the cavalry averred that, in the late engagement, he killed his brother, and



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for that deed of horror he had the hardiness to demand a recompense. The laws of nature would not allow the superior officers to reward an action that shocked humanity; and to punish it was inconsistent with the policy of war. Under a plausible pretence of not being able, in that juncture, to proportion their bounty to the extent of the merit, they adjourned the business, and thought of it no more. In former civil wars, we have upon record a similar tragic incident, but with a different issue. In the battle with Cinna at Janiculum (*a*), a man of Pompey's party (as Sisenna relates the story) slew his brother, and soon after, finding his mistake, dispatched himself: so true it is, that in ancient times, men not only had a quick sense of glory, but also felt a just abhorrence of evil deeds. For the insertion of this anecdote no apology will be deemed necessary: on the contrary, it may be proper to revive the memory of past transactions, in order, whenever the occasion requires it, to exhibit a bright example of eminent virtue, or to soothe the mind under the pressure of recent calamity.

LII. ANTONIUS, in concert with the principal officers, judged it prudent to send forward the cavalry, with orders to explore, in some part of Umbria, a place of moderate acclivity over the Apennine mountains. In the mean time, the troops left behind at Verona were ordered to advance with the eagles and standards. Measures were also taken to procure a supply of provisions by sea, and also by the navigation of the Po. But delay was what some of the chiefs had much at heart. They knew the pride and growing ambition of Antonius, and thought it more for their interest to curry favour with Mucianus, who saw with a jealous eye the rapid success with which Antonius pushed on his conquest. If the general of the east did not arrive in time to enter Rome with the victorious army, it was evident that  
the

the whole glory of the war would fall to the lot of others. His letters to Varus and Antonius were dark, ambiguous, and contradictory; sometimes recommending dispatch, and afterwards stating the advantages of caution and dilatory measures. By this duplicity he hoped to assume the merit of whatever succeeded, and, if any misfortune happened, to throw the blame on others. With his intimate friends, and, in particular, with Plotius Griphus (*a*), lately raised by Vespasian to the rank of senator, and the command of a legion, his correspondence was more open and direct. The answers which he received were in a style agreeable to his wishes, full of compliments to himself, and malignant reflections on the rashness of Varus and Antonius. These letters Mucianus took care to forward to Vespasian. The impression which they made was unfavourable to Antonius, who knew the value of his services, and yet found himself supplanted in the opinion of the future emperor.

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LIII. ANTONIUS, with the spirit of an injured man, complained of the insidious arts with which Mucianus undermined his character. Above disguising his passions, and scorning to temporize, he spoke his mind with freedom. His letters to Vespasian were in a tone more lofty than is usually addressed to princes. He talked of himself with an air of confidence, and with asperity of Mucianus, the assassin of his reputation. "It was by Antonius that the legions in Pannonia were  
" excited to a revolt; by him the leaders in Mæsia were inspired  
" with courage; by him the Alps were forced, Italy was sub-  
" dued, and by him all succours from Germany and Rhætia were  
" entirely cut off. By him the cavalry was led on to attack  
" the legions of Vitellius, in the moment of disunion among  
" themselves; and the complete victory obtained by the infantry,  
" after an obstinate engagement that lasted night and day, was



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“ an exploit of which envy itself could not deny him the merit.  
 “ The destruction of Cremona was a calamity incident to the rage  
 “ of civil war; and yet that calamity, dreadful as it was, could  
 “ not be compared to the disasters of former times, when the  
 “ republic saw her cities razed to the ground, and the land de-  
 “ luged with blood. In the war which he had conducted, his  
 “ sword, and not his pen, was the weapon which he employed.  
 “ Instead of writing secret dispatches, he fought the enemy in the  
 “ field. Nor did he mean to detract from those who commanded:  
 “ in Asia: they had the mighty glory of preserving tranquillity  
 “ in the distant territory of Mæsia, while he routed the Vitellian  
 “ armies, and made himself master of Italy. Spain and Gaul,  
 “ the two bulwarks of the empire, were by his influence drawn  
 “ over to Vespasian. But his best efforts had been in vain ex-  
 “ erted, if his laurels, so dearly earned, were to be transferred to  
 “ men, who neither shared in the victory, nor the danger.”  
 These remonstrances did not remain a secret to Mucianus. The  
 consequence was, a deadly feud between the two commanders;  
 on the part of Antonius, carried on with open and avowed hosti-  
 lity; on that of Mucianus, with close disguise, and, for that  
 reason, the more implacable.

LIV. VITELLIUS, after the overthrow of his army at Cre-  
 mona, thought it good policy to suppress the news. By that  
 shallow artifice, he made every thing worse. Diffimulation  
 could only postpone the remedy, but not ward off the conse-  
 quences of that dreadful defeat. Had the event been fairly told,  
 a council might have been called, and there were resources still  
 in reserve. In the midst of ruin, he pretended to be in a flour-  
 ishing condition, and by that fallacy was undone. The war  
 was not so much as mentioned in his presence. The citizens  
 of Rome were forbid to talk of the news of the day, and, for that

reason,

reason, they talked the more. Since liberty of speech was no longer allowed, instead of the plain truth, they gave out fictitious accounts, and, because they were restrained, took their revenge by making every thing worse. The chiefs of the adverse party omitted nothing that could extend the fame of their victory. The spies, that fell into their hands, were industriously led round the camp, and, after seeing the strength and spirit of the conquerors, dismissed to make their report at Rome. Vitellius examined them in private, and, that nothing might transpire, ordered them to be put to death. A singular proof of fidelity and generous courage was, at this time, given by a centurion; his name Julius Agrestis. This man, in several interviews with Vitellius, tried in vain to rouse his master to a spirit of enterprise. All he could obtain was leave to go in person to view the strength of the enemy, and see the real condition of Cremona. Scorning to approach Antonius in the character of a spy, he avowed the emperor's orders, and his own resolution. A guard was appointed to conduct him. He was led to the field of battle; he surveyed the ruins of Cremona, and saw the legions that had laid down their arms. With that intelligence he returned to Vitellius. The emperor, deaf to the voice of truth, and unwilling to be convinced, charged the centurion with treachery and corruption. "I perceive," said Agrestis, "that some great and signal proof is necessary; and, since neither my life nor death can now be of any use, I will give you that evidence which cannot deceive." He retired, and fell on his sword. According to some historians, he was slain by order of Vitellius. Be that as it may, the fidelity of the generous centurion deserves to be transmitted to posterity.

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LV. At length Vitellius was roused from his state of stupefaction. He ordered Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, at the head



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head of fourteen prætorian cohorts, and the whole of the cavalry, to take possession of the Apennine mountains. A legion of marines was sent after them. A force so considerable, consisting of several thousand horse and foot, under any other general, would have been sufficient not only to withstand the enemy, but even to wage an offensive war. The cohorts, that remained for the defence of the city, were put under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother. The emperor, in the mean time, abated nothing from his habitual luxury. He began, however, with a precipitation that sprung from fear, to grant away whatever the state had to bestow. He hurried on the election of public magistrates, and appointed a succession of consuls for several years; he concluded treaties with the allies of Rome; he invested foreign cities with the privileges of Latium; he granted to some nations an exemption from all kinds of tribute, and to others immunities unheard of before; regardless of posterity, and, in all events, determined to exhaust the commonwealth. The populace applauded the liberality of the emperor. Some were weak enough to purchase favours, which, it was evident, could not last; while men of reflection saw, that lavish grants, which could neither be made nor accepted without distressing the public, must be declared null and void. At length Vitellius, urged by the importunity of the army, which lay encamped at Mevania (*a*), marched out of the city, attended by a numerous train of senators, all following with different motives; some to pay their court, and the greater part, afraid of giving jealousy to a prince, who joined his army without any settled plan, in himself no resource, no decision, the ready dupe of every treacherous adviser.

LVI. HAVING reached the camp, Vitellius called an assembly of the foldiers. During his speech, a wonderful phænomenon

engaged the attention of all. A flight of ill-omened birds hovered over his head, forming a cloud that obscured the day. This was followed by another prognostic of an alarming nature. A bull broke loose from the altar, and, trampling under foot all the preparations for the sacrifice, fled to a distant place, and there, on a spot where victims were never slain, was felled to the ground. But Vitellius, in his own person, presented a sight that exceeded every prodigy; a chief void of military knowledge, without judgment to plan, or courage to execute. He had not skill enough to explore the motions of the enemy, and to the art of avoiding or bringing on a general engagement he was an utter stranger. Every incident betrayed his ignorance or his pusillanimity. When messengers arrived, he turned pale, faltered in his gait, asked questions, trembled, and returned to his bottle. Weary at length of the camp, and terrified by the revolt of the fleet at Misenum, he went back to Rome, alarmed at every new event, yet never looking forward to the issue of the war. All opportunities were utterly lost by his folly. The true and obvious measure would have been, to pass over the Apennine with his whole force, and seek an enemy distressed by the rigour of the winter season, and a dearth of provisions. Instead of this, Vitellius suffered his army to be dispersed in different places, and, by that conduct, gave to the slaughtering sword a set of brave and gallant soldiers, whose valour and fidelity nothing could shake. The centurions saw the blunder, and the best amongst them, had they been consulted, were ready with honest advice. But the creatures of the court banished every faithful counsellor. The ear of Vitellius was open to flattery only: useful advice was harsh and grating; and nothing was welcome, but what soothed his passions, while it led to sure destruction.

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LVII. THE revolt of the fleet at Misenum was occasioned  
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altogether by the fraud of Claudius Faventinus ; so much in civil commotions depends on the boldness of a single traitor. This man had been a centurion under Galba, and was by that emperor cashiered with ignominy. To seduce the men to his purposes, he forged letters from Vespasian, promising ample rewards to such as went over to his party. Claudius Apollinaris was, at that time, commander of the fleet ; a man inclined to treachery, but wanting resolution to be forward in guilt. It happened that Apinius Tiro, who had discharged the office of prætor, was then at Minturnæ(*a*). He placed himself at the head of the revolvers, and drew the neighbouring colonies and municipal towns into the confederacy. The inhabitants of Puteoli (*b*) declared with alacrity for Vespasian, while Capua, with equal vehemence, adhered to Vitellius. Those two cities had been long at variance, and now mingled with the rage of civil war all the rancour of their private animosities. In order to bring the revolvers back to their duty, Vitellius fixed on Claudius Julianus, who had been præfect of the fleet at Misenum, and had the character of being mild in the exercise of his authority. He set out from Rome at the head of a city cohort, and a band of gladiators, over whom he had been, before that time, appointed commanding officer. He was no sooner in sight of the rebel camp, than he went over to Vespasian. The two parties, with their combined force, took possession of Tarracina, a city strong both by nature and art. In that place the revolvers were more indebted for their security to the strength of the works, than to their own military talents.

LVIII. VITELLIUS, having received intelligence of these transactions, ordered part of his army to take post at Narnia (*a*), under the command of the prætorian præfects, while his brother Lucius Vitellius, at the head of six cohorts and five hundred horse, marched into Campania, to check the progress of the revolt. He himself,

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himself, in the mean time, sunk into a state of languor, overwhelmed with despair and melancholy, till the generous ardour of the soldiers, and the clamours of the populace demanding to be armed, revived his drooping spirits. He flattered himself, that a turbulent multitude, bold in words, but without spirit in action, would be equal to the regular legions. To a mere mob he gave the name of an army. His freedmen were his only advisers. In such as professed to be his friends, he reposed no confidence. The truth is, all of that class, the higher they stood in rank, were the more ready to betray. By the advice of his fervile counsellors, he ordered the people to be assembled in their tribes (*b*). As they came forward to enroll their names, he received the oath of fidelity; but the crowd pressing too thick upon him, he grew weary of the task, and left the business of completing the new levy to the two consuls. The senators were required to bring in a quantity of silver, and a certain number of slaves. The Roman knights made a voluntary offer to serve with their lives and fortunes. The freedmen, in a body, desired to be admitted to the same honour. This humour continued, till what at first proceeded from servility and fear, grew serious in the end, and became real ardour. The greater part, notwithstanding, felt no affection for the prince; indifferent about the man, they grieved to see the humiliating condition, to which the empire was reduced. Vitellius, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the public favour. He appeared with a dejected air; he spoke in a pathetic tone; he tried the force of tears; he made ample promises, lavish of words, and, as is usually the case with men in distress, generous beyond all bounds. He now desired to assume the title of Cæsar. His superstitious veneration for a name, in which he thought there was something sacred, made him willing to accept what he had often rejected. The public clamour was an additional motive. The populace thought it proper,



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and, in cases of extreme danger, the voice of the rabble is equal to the wisest counsels. But the spirit, which at the flood was violent, soon began to ebb away. The senators and knights fell off by degrees, at first, in the absence of the prince, watching their opportunity with care and caution; but, in the end, not even managing appearances, with open and avowed indifference. Vitellius gave up his cause for lost. He saw that the prince demands in vain, when the people are no longer willing to comply.

LIX. By taking possession of Mevania (*a*), Vitellius had struck all Italy with terror. The war seemed to revive with redoubled vigour, but, by his dastardly flight from the camp, he lost every advantage. Vespasian's interest gained additional strength. The people, throughout the country, went over to his party with uncommon ardour. The Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marsians (*b*), saw, with regret, the prompt alacrity, with which the inhabitants of Campania had taken the lead in the revolt; and, to atone for their own remissness, declared for Vespasian, with all the vehemence which a new passion inspires. Meanwhile, the army, in passing over the Apennine, suffered every extremity from the rigour of the winter. The difficulty, with which, though unmolested by the enemy, they laboured through a waste of snow, plainly shews the dangers that surrounded them, if fortune, no less propitious to Vespasian than the wisdom of his counsels, had not drawn Vitellius from his post. During the march over the mountains, Petilius Cerealis, in the disguise of a common peasant, presented himself to the general. Being well acquainted with the course of the country, he had been able to elude the pursuit of the Vitellians. As he had the honour of being allied to Vespasian, and was besides an officer of distinguished merit, he was not only well received, but ranked

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with the commanders in chief. The writers of that day inform us, that Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian, had it in their power to escape out of Rome. Antonius, it is said, by his emissaries, invited them to a place of safety ; but Sabinus declined the offer, alleging his ill state of health, and his want of vigour for so bold an enterprize. Domitian was not deficient either in spirit or inclination. Even the guards, appointed by Vitellius to watch his motions, offered to join his flight ; but he suspected an underhand design to draw him into a share, and, for that reason, made no attempt. His fear, however, was ill founded. Vitellius felt a tender regard for his own family, and on their account meditated nothing against the life of Domitian.

LX. THE army pursued their march as far as Carfulæ (*a*). At that place the generals thought fit to halt for some days, as well to rest the troops, as to wait the arrival of the eagles and standards of the legions. The situation afforded a pleasant spot for their camp, with an open champaign country on every side, abounding with plenty, and behind them a number of opulent and flourishing cities. Being then not more than ten miles distant from the Vitellian forces, they hoped, by intrigue and secret negociation, to induce the whole party to lay down their arms. But the soldiers were impatient of delay. They wished to end the war by victory, not by compromise. They desired to be led against the enemy, before the arrival of their own legions, who would be sure to claim a share of the booty, though their assistance was not wanted. Antonius called the men together, and, in a public harangue, informed them, “ that Vitellius had  
“ still numerous forces in reserve, all willing, if left to their own  
“ reflection, to hearken to terms of accommodation ; but despair  
“ might rouse their courage. In the first movements of a civil  
“ war, much must be left to chance. To complete the conquest,



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“ is the province of wisdom, and deliberate counsels. The fleet  
 “ at Misenum, with the whole region of Campania, the fairest  
 “ part of Italy, had already declared for Vespasian. Of the whole  
 “ Roman world, the tract that lies between Narnia and Terracina  
 “ was all that remained in the hands of Vitellius. By the victory  
 “ at Cremona enough of glory had been gained, and by the  
 “ demolition of that city, too much disgrace. Rome still flourishes  
 “ in all its grandeur. To save that city, the seat of empire,  
 “ from the like calamity, would be more for their honour,  
 “ than the wild ambition of taking it by assault. Their fame  
 “ would stand on a more solid basis, and their reward would  
 “ be greater, if, with the spirit of citizens, and without further  
 “ effusion of blood, they protected the rights of the senate, and  
 “ the Roman people.”

LXI. By these remonstrances the fury of the soldiers was appeased. The legions arrived soon after, and, by the fame of their united force, struck the Vitellians with dismay. To hold out to the last extremity, was no longer the advice or exhortation of the officers. To surrender was thought the best measure. Numbers saw the advantage of going over to the enemy with their companies of foot, or their troops of horse, and by that service hoped to merit better terms for themselves. Advice was received, that four hundred of the enemy's cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood, in garrison at *Interamna (a)*. Varus, at the head of a detached party, marched against them. All, who resisted, were put to the sword; the greater part laid down their arms, and begged quarter. Some fled in a panic to the camp at Narnia, and there, by magnifying the numbers and courage of the enemy, endeavoured to palliate their own disgrace. In the Vitellian army defection and treachery went unpunished: guilt had nothing to fear from the officers, and from the victors it met with

a sure

a sure reward. Who should be the most expeditious traitor was now the only struggle. The tribunes and centurions deserted in open day, while the common soldiers adhered to Vitellius with undaunted resolution; but, at length, Priscus and Alphenus (*b*) gave the finishing blow to all their hopes. Those two officers abandoned the camp, in order to return to Vitellius, and by that step made the apology of all, who, being left without a leader, went over to the side of the strongest.

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LXII. DURING these transactions, Fabius Valens was put to death in prison at Urbinum (*a*). A report had been spread abroad, that he made his escape into Germany, and was there employed in raising an army of veterans to renew the war. To clear up that mistake, and crush at once the hopes of the Vitellians, his head was exposed to public view. At the sight of that unexpected object, the enemy sunk down in deep despair, while the Flavian party considered that event as the end of all their labour.

Fabius Valens was a native of Anagnia, descended from a family of equestrian rank. His manners were corrupt and profligate, but to his vices he united no small degree of genius. A libertine in the pursuit of pleasure, he acquired an air of gaiety, and passed for a man of polite accomplishments. In the interludes, called Juvenalia (*b*), which were exhibited in the reign of Nero, he appeared among the pantomime performers, at first with seeming reluctance, but afterwards, of his own choice, displaying talents, that gained applause, while they disgraced the man. Rising afterwards to the command of a legion under Verginius, he paid his court to that commander, and betrayed him. He seduced Fonteius Capito (*c*), or, perhaps, found him incorruptible, and, for one of those reasons, murdered him. False to Galba (*d*), yet faithful

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to Vitellius, he exhibited, in the last stage of life, a contrast to the general depravity of the times. The perfidy of others raised his reputation.

LXIII. THE Vitellians, seeing all hopes cut off, determined to submit to the conqueror, and, accordingly, to the utter disgrace of the party, descended into the plains of Narnia, with their colours displayed, there to make a voluntary surrender. Vespasian's army was drawn up in order of battle. They formed their lines on each side of the public road, and in the intermediate space received the vanquished troops. Antonius addressed them in a speech, that breathed moderation and humanity. They were quartered at different places; one division at Narnia, and the other at Interamna. A party of the victorious legions were stationed near them, not with a design to insult or irritate men in distress, but, in case of need, to preserve peace and good order. Antonius and Varus, in the mean time, did not neglect the opportunity of negotiating with Vitellius. By frequent messengers they offered for himself a supply of money, and a safe retreat in Campania, upon condition that he should lay down his arms, and surrender himself and his children to the discretion of Vespasian. Letters to the same effect were also sent to him by Mucianus. Vitellius listened to these proposals. He even went so far, as to amuse himself with settling the number of his train, and to talk of the spot on the sea shore where he intended to fix his retreat. Such was the stupidity that benumbed his faculties: if others would not remember that he had been emperor of Rome, he himself was willing to forget it.

LXIV. AT Rome, in the mean time, the leading men endeavoured, by secret exhortations, to incite Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city, to take an active part in the approaching

revolution, and claim a share in the fame and splendour of so great an event. "The city cohorts," they said, "were all devoted to him; the soldiers of the night-watch (*a*) would join them; and their own slaves might be called forth. Every thing favoured the enterprize, and nothing could withstand the victorious arms of a party, in whose favour fortune had already decided. Why leave to Varus and Antonius the whole glory of the war? Vitellius had but a few cohorts left, a mere handful of men, alarmed at the news from every quarter, and overwhelmed with fear. The minds of the populace were always wavering, fond of change, and ready to shift to the side of the strongest. Let Sabinus shew himself, and the acclamations, now given to Vitellius, would be as loud for Vespasian. As to Vitellius, the tide of prosperity overpowered him; what must now be his case, when he sees destruction on every side? To end the war, be master of Rome; that will consummate all, and the merit as well as the glory will be yours. Who so fit as Sabinus to secure the sovereign power for his brother? And whom can Vespasian, with so much propriety, wish to see the second man in the empire?"

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LXV. THESE temptations, bright as they were, made no impression on Sabinus. Enfeebled by old age, he was no longer alive to motives of ambition. His inactivity was by some imputed to a jealous spirit, that wished to retard the elevation of his brother. Sabinus was the elder, and, while both remained in a private station, always took the lead, superior not only in point of fortune, but also in the opinion of the public. When Vespasian stood in need of pecuniary assistance, Sabinus supported his credit, but, according to report, secured himself by a mortgage (*a*) on his brother's house and lands. From that time they lived on good terms, preserving the exteriors of friendship, while mutual animosity

was:



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was supposed to be suppressed in silence. Such were the suspicions that prevailed at the time. The fair and probable construction is, that Sabinus, a man of a meek disposition, wished to spare the effusion of blood, and, with that intent, held frequent conferences with Vitellius, in order to compromise the dispute, and settle the terms of a general pacification. We are told, that, having agreed, in private, on the preliminary articles, they ratified a final treaty in the temple of Apollo (*b*), in the presence of Cluvius Rufus (*c*) and Silius Italicus (*d*), who attended as witnesses. The scene was not without a number of spectators, who stood at a distance, watching the looks and behaviour of the contracting parties. Vitellius shewed in his countenance an air of sorrow and abject humility. Sabinus scorned to insult a man in distress; he seemed to feel for the unfortunate.

LXVI. VITELLIUS had long since divested himself of every warlike passion, and, if to persuade others had been as easy as to degrade himself, Vespasian's army might have taken possession of the city of Rome unstained with blood. But his friends were still firm in his interest; their zeal was not to be subdued; they rejected all terms of accommodation, and with warmth protested against a peace, which brought with it no security, but depended altogether on the will and pleasure of the conqueror. "Was it  
 "probable that Vespasian would have the magnanimity to let  
 "his rival live secure in a private station? Would the vanquished  
 "bear it? The friends of a fallen emperor would commiserate  
 "his case, and that commiseration would be his certain ruin (*a*);  
 "the ruin, it was true, of a man advanced in years, who had  
 "seen the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. But what would  
 "be the situation of his son? What name, what rank, what  
 "character could be bestowed on him, who had been already  
 "honoured with the title of Germanicus? The present offer  
 "promises

“promises a supply of money, a household train, and a safe  
 “retreat in the delightful regions of Campania: but when Vespasian  
 “seizes the imperial dignity, neither he, nor his friends,  
 “nor even his armies, will think themselves secure, till, by the  
 “death of a rival, they crush the seeds of future contention.  
 “Even Fabius Valens, though a prisoner, and, while they feared  
 “a reverse of fortune, reserved as a pledge in the hands of the  
 “enemy, was thought at last too formidable, and for that reason  
 “he fell a sacrifice. And is it to be imagined, that Antonius,  
 “and Fuscus, or Mucianus, that pillar of the party, will not make  
 “the same use of their power over Vitellius? Pompey was pursued  
 “to death by Julius Cæsar, and Mark Anthony by Augustus.  
 “But, perhaps, superior sentiment and true greatness of soul are  
 “to be expected from Vespasian! Let us not deceive ourselves.  
 “He is now a new man, formerly the client (*b*), the creature of  
 “Vitellius, who, at that time, was joined in the consulship with  
 “the emperor Claudius. All motives conspire to rouse and ani-  
 “mate the emperor: the dignity of an illustrious line, the office  
 “of censor, three consulships held by his father, with the various  
 “honours heaped on his family. These are powerful incen-  
 “tives. They call aloud for some bold effort of courage, or at the  
 “worst, of brave despair. The soldiers are still determined to  
 “meet every danger, and the fidelity of the people nothing can  
 “alter. In all events, no calamity can be so bad as that, into  
 “which Vitellius seems willing to plunge himself. If vanquished,  
 “we must perish by the sword; if we surrender, what will be the  
 “case? An ignominious death. To choose between infamy and  
 “glory, is all that now remains. The only question is, Shall we  
 “tamely resign our lives, amidst the scorn and insolence of the  
 “enemy? or shall we act like men, and die sword in hand, with  
 “honour and applause?”

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LXVII. VITELLIUS was deaf to every manly sentiment. An obstinate resistance might render the conqueror inexorable to his wife and children, and that consideration overpowered him with grief and tenderness. His mother was now no more. Worn out with age, she died a few days before, happy not to behold the downfall of her family. From the elevation of her son she derived nothing, except the anxiety, that preyed upon her spirits, and the fame of a blameless character. On the fifteenth before the calends of January (*a*), the defection of the legions and cohorts, that surrendered at Narnia, reached the ears of Vitellius. On receipt of that dismal intelligence, he went forth from his palace in mourning apparel (*b*), surrounded by his family in deep affliction. His infant son was carried in a small litter, with all the appearance of a funeral ceremony. The populace followed in crowds, with unavailing shouts, and flattery out of season. The soldiers marched in fullen silence.

LXVIII. IN that vast multitude, no man was so insensible of the events and sudden revolutions of human life, as not to be touched by the misery of the scene before him. They saw an emperor, but a little before master of the Roman world, abandoning his palace, and, in the midst of a vast crowd of citizens assembled round him, proceeding through the streets of Rome to abdicate the imperial dignity. No eye had seen a spectacle so truly affecting; no ear had heard of so dismal a catastrophe. Cæsar, the dictator, fell by sudden violence; Caligula perished by a dark conspiracy; Nero fled through devious paths, while the shades of night concealed his disgrace; Piso and Galba may be said to have died in battle. Vitellius, before an assembly of the people called by himself, in the midst of his own soldiers, and in the presence of a concourse of women, who beheld the sad reverse  
of

of fortune, by his own act deposed himself. In a short but pathetic speech, he declared his voluntary abdication. "I retire," he said, for the sake of peace and the good of the common-wealth : retain me still in your memory, and view with an eye of pity the misfortunes of my brother, my wife, and infant children. I ask no more." He raised his son in his arms, and shewed him to the people ; he turned to individuals ; he implored the compassion of all. A gush of tears suppressed his voice : in that distress, taking his sword from his side, and addressing himself to Cæcilius Simplex (*a*), the consul, who stood near him, he offered to deliver it into his hands, as the symbol of authority over the lives of the Roman citizens. The consul refused to accept it, and the people, with violent uproar, opposed his resignation. Vitellius left the place. His intention was to lay down all the ensigns of sovereignty in the temple of Concord (*b*), and seek an humble retreat in his brother's house. This again met with a strong opposition from the populace. The general cry was, that the house of a private citizen was not a proper mansion : all insisted on his returning to the palace. The crowd obstructed the streets, and no pass was left open, except that called the *Sacred Way*. In confusion, distracted, and left without advice, Vitellius returned to the palace.

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LXIX. THE abdication of the prince was soon known throughout the city. Upon the first intelligence, Flavius Sabinus sent orders in writing to the tribunes of the cohorts, commanding them to restrain the violent spirit of the soldiers. The leading members of the senate, as if the whole power of the state was falling at once into the hands of Vespasian, went in a body to the house of Sabinus. A numerous band of the equestrian order, with the city soldiers, and the night-watch, followed the example of the fathers. They were there informed of the zeal of the



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people for Vitellius, and the menaces thrown out by the German cohorts. Sabinus was too far advanced to think of a retreat. Individuals trembled for themselves: if they dispersed, the Vitellians might seize the opportunity to lay a scene of blood. To prevent that terrible disaster, they urged Sabinus to take up arms, and shew himself in force to the people. But, as often happens in pressing exigencies, all were ready to advise, and few to share the danger. Sabinus went forth at the head of a band of soldiers. Near the Fundane lake (*a*), a bold and resolute party of the Vitellians advanced against him. A skirmish ensued. The Vitellians had the advantage. Sabinus retreated to the fort of the capitol, and in that strong hold shut himself up with his soldiers, and a small party of senators and Roman knights. A list of their names cannot be given with any precision, as numbers afterwards, in the reign of Vespasian, assumed a share of merit in that transaction. There were even women, who dared to defy the danger of a siege. Among these the most distinguished was Verulana Gracilia, a woman of high spirit, who had neither children nor relations to attract her, but acted entirely on the impulse of her own intrepid genius. The Vitellians invested the citadel, but guarded the passes with so much negligence, that Sabinus, in the dead of night, was able to receive into the place his own children (*b*), and Domitian his brother's son. At the same time, he sent dispatches to the victorious army, to inform the chiefs of his situation, and the necessity of immediate relief. The besiegers attempted nothing during the night. Had Sabinus taken advantage of their inactivity, he might have made his escape through the passes neglected by a ferocious enemy, bold and resolute, but scorning all regular discipline, and impatient of fatigue. It happened, besides, that a storm of rain fell with all the violence of the winter season. During the tempest, the men could neither see nor hear one another.

LXX. AT the dawn of day, before hostilities commenced, Sabinus dispatched Cornelius Martialis, a principal centurion, with instructions to represent to Vitellius the treachery of his conduct, in open violation of a solemn treaty. “ The late abdication was no better than a state farce, played in the face of mankind, to deceive the most illustrious citizens. For what other purpose did he wish to withdraw to his brother’s house, so situated as to overlook the forum, and attract the eyes of the public? Why not rather choose the mansion of his wife, a sequestered station near mount Aventine? For him, who renounced the sovereign power, a place of obscurity was the fittest. But Vitellius fought the very reverse: he returned to his palace, the citadel, as it were, of the empire, and thence sent forth a military force to deluge the best part of the city with innocent blood. Even the capitol was no longer a sanctuary. During the rage of civil war, while the fate of empire hung suspended between Vespasian and Vitellius; while the legions drenched their swords in the blood of their fellow citizens; while cities were taken by storm, and whole cohorts laid down their arms; the part which Sabinus acted, was that of a senator and a civil magistrate. Both the Spains, the Upper and Lower Germany, and all Britain had revolted; and yet the brother of Vespasian preserved his fidelity to the reigning prince. If at length he entered into a negociation, Vitellius invited him to the meeting. The stipulated terms were advantageous to the vanquished; and to the conqueror brought nothing but fame and honour. If Vitellius repented of that transaction, why point his arms against Sabinus, who had been the dupe of insidious policy? Why besiege the son of Vespasian, a youth not yet grown up to the age of manhood (*a*)? By the murder of an old man, and the death of a stripling, what advantage could be gained? It would be more for the honour  
“ of

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“ of Vitellius to make head against the legions, and decide the  
 “ contest in the field of battle. A single victory would end the  
 “ war, and every thing would fall to the lot of the conqueror.”  
 Vitellius listened to this remonstrance with visible marks of fear.  
 He endeavoured in few words to clear his own conduct, im-  
 puting the whole mischief to the foldiers, whose intemperate zeal  
 was no longer subject to his authority. He advised Martialis  
 to depart through a private part of the house, lest the foldiers in  
 their fury should destroy the negociator of a peace which they  
 abhorred. He himself remained in his palace, unable to com-  
 mand or to prohibit any measure whatever; a mere phantom of  
 power, no longer emperor, but still the cause of civil dissension.

LXXI. MARTIALIS had no sooner entered the capitol, than  
 the Vitellian foldiers appeared before it; no chief to lead them  
 on; all rushing forward with impetuous fury, and every man  
 his own commanding officer. Having passed the forum, and  
 the temples (*a*) that surround it, they marched up the hill that  
 fronts the capitol, and, after halting there to form their ranks,  
 advanced in regular order to the gates of the citadel. On the  
 right side of the ascent, a range of porticos had been built in  
 ancient times. From the top of those edifices the besieged  
 annoyed the enemy with stones and tiles. The assailants had  
 no weapons but their swords. To wait for warlike engines  
 seemed a tedious delay to men impatient for the assault. They  
 threw flaming torches into the portico nearest at hand; and, seeing  
 the destruction made by the devouring flames, were ready to  
 force their way through the gate (*b*), if Sabinus had not thrown  
 into a heap all the statues that adorned the place, and, with those  
 venerable monuments of antiquity, blocked up the passage. The  
 Vitellians pushed on the assault in two different quarters; one  
 near the grove of the asylum (*c*), and the other near the hun-  
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dred steps of the Tarpeian rock (*d*). Both attacks were unforeseen. Near the asylum-grove the affair grew serious. On that side of the hill, the houses, which had been built during a long peace, were raised as high as the foundation of the capitol. The besiegers climbed to the top of those buildings, in spite of every effort to stop their progress. The roofs were immediately set on fire, but whether by the besieged, or the besiegers (*e*), is uncertain. The current opinion ascribed it to the former. The flame soon reached the contiguous porticos, and, in a short time, spread to the eagles (a set of pillars so called) that supported the buildings. The wood, being old and dry, was so much fuel to increase the fire. In the conflagration that followed, the capitol, with all its gates shut, and neither stormed by the enemy, nor defended by Sabinus, was burnt to the ground.

LXXII. FROM the foundation of the city to that hour, the Roman people had felt no calamity so deplorable, no disgrace so humiliating. Without the shock of a foreign enemy, and, if we except the vices of the age, without any particular cause to draw down the wrath of heaven, the temple of Jupiter, supreme of gods; a temple, built in ancient times (*a*) with solemn rites and religious auspices, the pledge of future grandeur; which neither Porfena (*b*), when Rome surrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls (*c*), when they took the city by storm, had dared to violate; that sacred edifice was now demolished by the rage of men contending for a master to reign over them. The capitol, it is true, was once before destroyed by fire during the violence of a civil war (*d*); but the guilt was then confined to the treachery of a few incendiaries, the madness of evil-minded men. In the present juncture, it was besieged with open hostility, and in the face of day involved in flames. And what adequate motive?



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tive? What object in view to atone for so wild a phrensy? Was the sword drawn in the cause of public liberty?

Tarquinius Priscus, during the war which he waged against the Sabines, bound himself by a vow to build that sacred structure. He afterwards laid the foundation, on a plan suggested by his own vast idea of the rising grandeur of the empire, but inconsistent with the circumstances of an infant state. Servius Tullius, assisted by the zeal of the allies of Rome, went on with the work, and after him Tarquin the proud, with the spoils of Sueſſa Pometia (*e*), added to the magnificence of the building. But the glory of completing the design was reserved for the æra of liberty, when kings were deposed and banished for ever. It was under the republic that Horatius Pulvillus (*f*), in his second consulship, performed the ceremony of dedicating the temple, at that time finished with so much grandeur, that the wealth of after ages could do no more than grace it with new embellishments: to its magnificence nothing could be added. Four hundred and fifteen years afterwards, in the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus (*g*), it was burnt to the ground, and again rebuilt on the old foundation. Sylla, who in that juncture had triumphed over all opposition to his arms, undertook the care of the building: the glory of dedicating it would have crowned his felicity (*h*); but that honour was reserved for Lutatius Catulus (*i*), whose name, amidst so many noble monuments of the Cæsars, remained in legible characters till the days of Vitellius. Such was the sacred building, which the madness of the times reduced to ashes.

LXXIII. THE fire, when it first began to rage, threw the combatants into the utmost confusion, but on the part of the besieged

besieged the distress was greatest. The Vitellian soldiers, in the moment of difficulty, wanted neither skill nor courage. In the opposite party the men were seized with a panic, and the commander had neither spirit nor presence of mind. Benumbed and torpid, he lost his powers of speech, and even the faculties of eyes and ears. No resources in himself, he was deaf to the advice of others. Alarmed by every sudden noise, he went forward, he returned; he ordered what he had forbidden, and countermanded what he had ordered. In this distraction all directed, and none obeyed. They threw down their arms, and each man began to shift for himself. They fled, they hid themselves in lurking-places; the Vitellians burst in with fire and sword; A scene of carnage followed. A few gallant spirits made a brave resistance, and perished in the attempt. The most distinguished were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Scæva: all these met their fate with undaunted courage. Flavius Sabinus, without his sword, and not so much as attempting to save himself by flight, was surrounded by a band of the Vitellians. Quinctius Atticus (*a*), the consul, was also taken prisoner. The ensigns of his magistracy discovered him to the soldiers; and the haughty style in which he had issued several edicts, in their tenour favourable to Vespasian, and injurious to Vitellius, made him an object of resentment. The rest by various stratagems made their escape; some in the disguise of slaves; others assisted by the fidelity of their friends, and by their care concealed under the baggage. A few, who had caught the military word, by which the Vitellians knew each other, used it with confidence in their questions and answers to all that came in their way. The boldness of the experiment saved their lives.

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LXXIV. DOMITIAN, on the first irruption of the besiegers,

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was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple, and there protected till one of his freedmen had the address to conduct him, clad in a linen vestment, amidst the band of sacrificers, to the place called *Velabrum*, where he lodged him safe under the care of Cornelius Primus, a man firmly attached to Vespasian. Domitian, during the reign of his father, threw down the warden's lodge, and on the same spot built a chapel to JUPITER THE CONSERVATOR, with a marble altar, on which the story of his escape was engraved at length. Being afterwards invested with the imperial dignity, he dedicated a magnificent temple to JUPITER THE GUARDIAN, and a statue representing the god with the young prince in his arms. Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus were conducted in fetters to the presence of Vitellius. He received them without a word of reproach, or so much as an angry look, though the soldiers, with rage and vociferation, insisted on their right to murder both, demanding, at the same time, the reward due to them for their late exploits. The inferior populace, with violent uproar, called for immediate vengeance on Sabinus, not forgetting to mingle with their fury the language of adulation to Vitellius, who endeavoured to address them from the stairs of the palace: but the storm was too outrageous. The mob fell upon Sabinus. He died under repeated blows. The assassins cut off his head, and dragged the mangled body to the common charnel.

LXXV. SUCH was the end of a man who merited a better fate. He had carried arms five-and-thirty years in the service of his country, distinguished by his civil and military conduct. His integrity and love of justice were never questioned. His fault was that of talking too much. In the course of seven years, during which he administered the province of Mæsia, and twelve more, while he was governor of Rome, malice itself could

could find no other blemish in his character. In the last act of his life he was condemned for inactivity and want of spirit; others saw in his conduct a man of moderation, who wished to prevent the effusion of Roman blood. Before the elevation of Vespasian, all agree that he was the head and ornament of his family. That his fall was matter of joy to Mucianus, seems well attested. In general, his death was considered as an event of public utility, since all emulation between two men likely to prove dangerous rivals, one as the emperor's brother, and the other as a colleague in power, was now extinguished. The consul, Quinctius Atticus, was the next victim demanded by the populace. Vitellius opposed their fury. He thought himself bound in gratitude to protect a man, who, being interrogated concerning the destruction of the capitol, avowed himself the author of the misfortune, and by that truth, or well-timed lie, took upon himself the whole load of guilt, exonerating the Vitellian party.

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LXXVI. DURING these transactions, Lucius Vitellius, having pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Feronia (*a*), formed a design to storm the city of Tarracina. The garrison, consisting of marines and gladiators, remained pent up within the walls, not daring to sally out, and face the enemy in the open field. The gladiators, as has been mentioned, were under the command of Julianus, and the marines under that of Apollinaris; two men immersed in sloth and luxury, by their vices more like common gladiators, than superior officers. No sentinels stationed, no night-watch to prevent a sudden alarm, and no care taken to guard the works, they passed both day and night in drunken jollity. The windings of that delightful coast resounded with notes of joy, and the soldiers were spread about the country to provide for the pleasures of the two commanders, who never



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thought of war except when it became the subject over their bottle. Apinius Tiro had left the place a few days before, in order to procure supplies for the commanding officers. By exacting presents and contributions from the municipal towns, he inflamed the prejudices of the people, gaining ill will in every quarter, and for his party no accession of strength.

LXXVII. THINGS remained in this posture, when a slave, belonging to Verginius Capito, deserted to Lucius Vitellius, with an offer to head a detachment, and, by surprise, make himself master of the citadel, unprovided, as it then was, with a sufficient force to guard the works. His proposal was accepted. In the dead of night he set out with a party of light-armed cohorts, and, having gained the summit of the hill, took his station over the heads of the enemy. From that eminence the soldiers poured down with impetuous fury, not to a battle, but to a scene of carnage and destruction. They fell upon a defenceless multitude, the greatest part unarmed, some running to snatch up their weapons, others scarce awake, and all thrown into consternation by the general uproar, by the darkness, the clangor of trumpets, and the shouts of the enemy. A few of the gladiators made a brave resistance, and sold their lives at the dearest rate. The rest fled to the ships. Terror and confusion followed them. The peasants of the neighbourhood were intermixed with the troops, and all together fell in one promiscuous slaughter. In the beginning of the tumult six light galleys broke loose from their moorings. On board of one of them, Apollinaris, the commander of the fleet, made his escape. The rest were either taken, or, by the weight of the crowd that rushed on board, sunk to the bottom. Julianus was conducted to Lucius Vitellius, and, in his presence, first ignominiously scourged, and then put to death. Triaria, the wife of Lucius, the commanding officer,

was

was accused of exulting with pride and cruelty amidst the carnage that laid waste the city of Tarracina. She is said to have appeared with a sword girt by her side, adding mockery and insult to the horrors of that tragic scene. The general, to mark so brilliant a victory, sent a letter wreathed with laurel (*a*) to his brother, desiring, at the same time, to know whether he should directly march forward to Rome, or stay to finish the entire reduction of Campania. The delay was of the greatest moment, not only to Vespasian's party, but to the commonwealth. A fierce and savage soldiery, flushed with success, and to their natural ferocity adding the insolence of victory, had they been immediately led to Rome, would, beyond all doubt, have renewed the war with dreadful havoc, and, perhaps, the destruction of the city. On such an occasion, Lucius Vitellius was an officer to be dreaded. Though his character was decried and infamous, he wanted neither talents nor vigour of mind. Like all, who succeed by prosperous wickedness, he had raised himself to eminence, and what good men obtain by their virtues he accomplished by his vices.

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LXXVIII. MEANWHILE, Vespasian's army, inactive ever since their departure from Narnia, loitered away the time at Otricoli (*a*), amusing themselves with the celebration of the Saturnalian festival (*b*). To wait for the arrival of Mucianus, was the ostensible reason for this ill-timed delay. Motives of a different nature were imputed to Antonius. Vitellius, it was said, had tampered with him by letters, and, to entice him from his party, promised the consulship, and his daughter in marriage, with a splendid fortune. With a considerable number this accusation had no kind of weight. They treated it as a mere calumny, the invention of artful men, who wished to pay their court to Mucianus. Many were of opinion, that the whole was a deliberate plan, settled by all the general officers, who rather chose to alarm.



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alarm the city of Rome with distant terrors, than to carry desolation within the walls, especially since the strongest cohorts had abandoned Vitellius, and that prince, left as he was, without hopes of succour, would probably end the contest by a voluntary abdication. This design, however wise and prudent, was defeated, at first, by the rashness, and, in the end, by the irresolution, of Sabinus. That officer had taken up arms with a shew of courage, and yet was not able, against so small a force as three cohorts, to defend the capitol; a fortress strong enough to stand the shock of powerful armies, and always deemed impregnable. But the truth is, where all were guilty of misconduct, the blame cannot well be fixed on any one in particular. Mucianus, by the studied ambiguity of his letters, checked the progress of the victorious army; and Antonius, by obsequious compliances, or, perhaps, with a design to blacken the character of Mucianus, was willing to incur the imputation of inactivity. The rest of the officers concluded hastily that the war was ended, and, by that mistake, occasioned all the disasters that closed the scene. Even Petilius Cerealis, who had been sent forward at the head of a thousand horse, with orders to proceed by rapid marches through the country of the Sabines, and to enter Rome by the Salarian road (*c*), did not push on with vigour. The chiefs heard, at last, that the capitol was besieged, and that intelligence roused them from their lethargy.

LXXIX. ANTONIUS, in the night time, made a forward movement towards the city of Rome. He pursued the Flaminian road, and, by a forced march, arrived at the RED ROCKS (*a*); but the mischief had already happened. At that place he received intelligence, that Sabinus was murdered; that the capitol lay smoking on the ground; that the populace, joined by the slaves, had taken up arms for Vitellius, and that all

Rome

Rome was wild with consternation. At the same time, Petilius Cerealis met with a defeat. That general, despising an enemy, whom he considered as already conquered, advanced incautiously to attack a party of horse and infantry. The battle was fought at a small distance from Rome, at a place where the land was divided into gardens, intersected by narrow roads, and covered with buildings; a spot well known to the Vitellians, but, to men unacquainted with the defiles, every way disadvantageous. Nor did the cavalry under Cerealis act with unanimity or equal ardour. They had among them a party of the men, who laid down their arms at Narnia, and all of that description waited to see the issue of the battle. Tullius Flavianus, who commanded a squadron of Vespasian's horse, was taken prisoner. The rest fled with precipitation. The conquering troops pursued the runaways as far as Fidenæ (*b*).

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LXXX. THE success of the Vitellians in this engagement inspired the partisans at Rome with new courage. The populace had recourse to arms. A few were provided with shields; the rest snatched up whatever weapons fell in their way. With one voice they demanded the signal for the attack. Vitellius commended their zeal, and ordered them to exert themselves in the defence of the city. In the mean time he convened the senate. The fathers sent ambassadors to the several chiefs, with instructions to propose, in the name of the commonwealth, a plan of pacification. The deputies, chosen for this purpose, were variously received. In the camp of Petilius Cerealis they were in danger of their lives. The soldiers disdained all terms of accommodation, and, in their fury, attacked the ambassadors. The prætor Arulenus Rusticus (*a*) was wounded. By this outrage the rights of ambassadors were violated, and, in the personal dignity of the man, virtue itself was insulted. The attendants in his  
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train were obliged to fly. The licitor, who attempted to open a passage through the crowd, was murdered on the spot; and, if the guard, appointed by Cerealis, had not interposed in time, the law of nations, ever respected by the most hostile states, had been trampled under foot, and the ambassadors, in the face of their country, under the very walls of Rome, must have fallen victims to the brutal rage of frantic men. The deputies, who went to the camp of Antonius, met with a more gentle reception; but were indebted for it, not to the pacific temper of the soldiers, but to the authority of the commander in chief.

LXXXI. It happened that Musonius Rufus (*a*), a Roman knight, followed in the train of the ambassadors. He professed himself devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect. Full of his boasted system, he mixed among the soldiers, and, reasoning much concerning good and evil, began a dissertation on the blessings of peace, and the calamities of war. Men under arms, and fierce with victory, were not likely to relish a moral lecture. His pedantry tired the patience of the soldiers, and became a subject of ridicule. The philosopher was in danger of being roughly treated, if the advice of the more considerate, and the menaces of others, had not taught him to suppress his ill-timed maxims of wisdom.

The vestal virgins (*b*) went in procession to the camp, with letters from Vitellius addressed to Antonius, in substance requesting a cessation of arms for a single day. In the interval a compromise might take place, and prevent the havoc of decisive action. The vestal train received every mark of respect. An answer in writing was sent to Vitellius, informing him, that the murder of Sabinus, and the destruction of the capitol, made all terms of accommodation inadmissible.

LXXXII. AN-

LXXXII. ANTONIUS, in the mean time, called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a soothing speech, endeavoured to infuse into their minds a spirit of moderation. He advised them to encamp at the Milvian bridge (*a*), and not to think of entering Rome till the next day. An enraged soldiery, forcing their way sword in hand, he had reason to fear, would rush on with impetuous fury, and give no quarter to the people or the senate. Even the temples and altars of the gods might fall in one promiscuous ruin. But the impatience of the army was not to be restrained. Eager for victory, they thought themselves ruined by delay. A display of colours and ensigns was seen glittering on the hills, followed, indeed, by an undisciplined rabble, but the appearance announced the preparations of an enemy. The conquerors advanced in three divisions; the first, from their station on the Flaminian road; the second marched along the banks of the Tiber; and the third, towards the gate Collina, by the Salarian way. On the first onset the mob was put to flight by the cavalry. The Vitellian soldiers ranged themselves in three columns. The entrance of the city was obstinately disputed. Several sharp engagements followed before the walls, with various success, but, for the most part, favourable to Vespasian's men, supported as they were by able officers. A party wheeled round to the left side of the city, towards the Sallustian gardens, and, being engaged in slippery and narrow passes, were roughly handled. The Vitellians had taken possession of the gardens, and, from the top of the walls, were able, with stones and spears, to annoy the troops beneath them. The advantage was on their side, till, towards the close of day, a party of Vespasian's cavalry forced their way through the Collinian gate, and fell upon the enemy in the rear. A battle was also fought in the field of Mars. The good fortune, that hitherto attended Vespasian's cause, gave him a decided victory. The Vitellians fought with obstinacy to

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the last. Despair lent them courage. Though dispersed and routed, they rallied within the walls of the city, and once more returned to the charge.

LXXXIII. THE people flocked in crowds to behold the conflict, as if a scene of carnage were no more than a public spectacle exhibited for their amusement. Whenever they saw the advantage inclining to either side, they favoured the combatants with shouts, and theatrical applause. If the men fled from their ranks, to take shelter in shops or houses, they roared to have them dragged forth, and put to death like gladiators for their diversion. While the soldiers were intent on slaughter, these miscreants were employed in plundering. The greatest part of the booty fell to their share. Rome presented a scene truly shocking, a medley of savage slaughter and monstrous vice; in one place war and desolation; in another, bathing, riot, and debauchery. Heaps of slain lay weltering in the streets, and blood flowed in torrents, while harlots and abandoned women wandered about with lascivious impudence. Whatever the libidinous passions can inspire in the hour of peace, was intermixed with all the horrors of war, of slaughter and destruction. The whole city seemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and, at the same time, intoxicated with bacchanalian pleasures. Before this period, Rome had seen enraged armies within her walls; twice under Sylla (*a*), and once after the victory obtained by Cinna. Upon those occasions the same barbarity was committed; but the unnatural security and inhuman indifference, that now prevailed, were beyond all example. In the midst of rage and massacre, pleasure knew no intermission. A dreadful carnage seemed to be a spectacle added to the public games. The populace enjoyed the havoc; they exulted in the midst of devastation; and, without any regard for the contending parties, triumphed over the miseries of their country.

LXXXIV. VES-

LXXXIV. VESPASIAN'S party had now conquered every thing but the camp (*a*). That difficult and arduous task still remained. The bravest of the Vitellians were still in possession. They considered it as their last resort, and were therefore determined to make a vigorous stand. The conquering troops advanced with determined fury to the attack, and the old prætorian cohorts with inflamed resentment. Whatever the military art had invented against places of the greatest strength, was employed by the assailants. They advanced under the shell; they threw up mounds; they discharged missile weapons and flaming torches; "all declaring aloud, that one glorious effort would put  
 "an end to their toil and danger. To the senate and people of  
 "Rome they had restored their city, and to the gods their altars  
 "and their temples. It now remained to gain possession of the  
 "camp, the soldier's post of honour, his country, and the seat of  
 "his household gods. They must either carry the entrenchments  
 "by assault, or pass the night under arms." The spirit of the Vitellians was broken, but not subdued. To sell the victory at the dearest rate, and delay the return of peace, was the last effort of expiring rage; and to stain the houses and altars with an effusion of blood, was the last consolation of despair. The towers and ramparts were covered with heaps of slain. The gates of the camp were forced. The few that still survived had the courage to maintain their post. They fell under honourable wounds, prodigal of life, and to the last tenacious of their glory.

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LXXXV. VITELLIUS, seeing the city conquered, went in a litter, by a private way at the back of the palace, to his wife's house on mount Aventine, with intent, if he could lie concealed during the rest of the day, to fly for refuge to his brother and his cohorts under his command at Tarracina. His natural irresolution returned upon him. He dreaded every thing, and,



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with the usual distraction of fear, what was present alarmed him most. He returned to his palace, and found it a melancholy desert. His slaves had made their escape, or shunned the presence of their master. Silence added to the terror of the scene. He opened the doors of his apartments, and stood aghast at the dreary solitude. All was desolation round him. He wandered from room to room, till his heart sunk within him. Weary, at length, of his wretched condition, he chose a disgraceful lurking-place (*a*), and there lay hid with abject fear, till Julius Placidus, the tribune of a cohort, dragged him forth. With his hands bound behind him, and his garment torn, he was conducted, a wretched spectacle, through crowds insulting his distress, and not a friend to pity his misfortunes. A catastrophe so mean and despicable moved no passion but contempt. A German foldier (*b*), either in wrath, or to end his misery, struck at him with his sabre, and, missing his aim, cut off the ear of a tribune. Whether his design was against that officer, cannot now be known. For his attempt he perished on the spot. Vitellius was dragged along amidst the scoffs and insults of the rabble. With swords pointed at his throat, they forced him to raise his head, and expose his countenance to scorn and derision; they made him look at his statues tumbling to the ground; they pointed to the place of public harangues, and shewed him the spot where Galba perished. In this manner they hurried him to the charnel (*c*), where the body of Flavius Sabinus had been thrown amongst the vilest malefactors. An expression fell from him, in the last extremity, that bespoke a mind not utterly destitute of sentiment. A tribune insulted him in his misery; “and yet,” said Vitellius, “I have been your sovereign.” He died soon after under repeated wounds. The populace, who had worshipped him in the zenith of his power, continued, after his death,

death, with the same depravity, to treat his remains with every mark of scorn and insolence.

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LXXXVI. HE was the son, as already mentioned, of Lucius Vitellius, and had completed the fifty-seventh year of his age. He rose to the consulship, to pontifical dignities, and a name and rank among the most eminent citizens, without industry or personal merit. The splendid reputation of the father (*a*) laid open the road to honours for the son. The men who raised him to the imperial dignity, did not so much as know him. By his vices, and luxurious ease, he gained an ascendant over the affections of the army, to a degree rarely attained by the virtue of the ablest generals. Simplicity, frankness, and generosity must not be denied to him ; but those qualities, when not under the curb of discretion, are always equivocal, and often ruinous. He endeavoured to conciliate friendships, not by his virtues, but by boundless liberality, and no wonder if he missed his aim : he deserved friends, but never had them. That his power should be overturned, was, no doubt, the interest of the commonwealth ; but the men, who figured in that important scene, could claim no merit with Vespasian, since, with equal versatility, they had been traitors to Galba.

The day being far spent, and the fathers and chief magistrates having either fled from the city in a panic, or concealed themselves in the houses of their friends, the senate could not be assembled. The rage of slaughter being appeased, and all hostilities ceasing, Domitian presented himself before the leaders of the party. He was saluted by the title of Cæsar, and a band of soldiers under arms conducted him to his father's house.





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- I. *CRUELITIES* committed at Rome by *Vespasian's* army. II. *Lucius Vitellius* surrenders with all his forces, and is put to death. III. Affairs in Campania composed by *Lucilius Bassus*. The sovereignty of *Vespasian* confirmed by the senate with demonstrations of obsequious duty. IV. Honours conferred on *Mucianus* in his absence. *Antonius* and *Arrius Varus* raised to dignities. The capitol to be rebuilt: *Helvidius Priscus* displays a spirit of liberty. V. The character of *Helvidius Priscus*. His contest with *Eprinus Marcellus*. IX. A debate concerning the public expenditure. X. *Musonius Rufus* attacks *Publius Celer*, the informer, who ruined *Barea Soranus*. XI. *Mucianus* enters the city of Rome. He assumes the whole power of the state. *Calpurnius Galerianus* put to death, and also *Asiaticus* the freedman. XII. A war breaks out in Germany. The causes of it. *Claudius Civilis*, a *Batavian*, heads the revolt. XIV. The *Batavians* under *Civilis*, and the *Caninefates* under *Brinno*, the first to take up arms. XV. The *Frisians* join the league. A fortress of the Romans demolished; their garrisons cut off. A victory obtained by *Civilis*. XVII. The German nations take up arms. *Civilis* applies to the states of Gaul for their assistance. XVIII. The inactivity of *Hordeonius Flaccus*. *Mummius Lupercus* gives battle to *Civilis*. The veteran cohorts of the *Batavians* in the service of Rome go over to the enemy. The Romans routed. They escape to the old camp called *VE-*  
TERA.

*TERA. XIX. Some cohorts of the Caninefates and Batavians, on their march to Rome, drawn over by Civilis to his party. They return in spite of Hordeonius Flaccus towards the Lower Germany, and defeat the Romans at Bonn. XXI. Civilis, to conceal his real design, pretends to espouse the cause of Vespasian. XXII. He lays siege to the old camp called VETERA. XXIV. Hordeonius Flaccus driven from his command by a mutiny in his camp: he resigns his authority to Vocula. XXVI. Herennius Gallus associated with Vocula. The army encamps at Gelduba. A ship loaded with corn drawn away from the Romans to the opposite bank of the Rhine. Herennius Gallus receives violent blows from his own soldiers, and is thrown into prison, but released by Vocula. XXIX. Civilis attempts in the night-time to storm the old camp. XXXI. By letters from Antonius the Romans receive intelligence of the victory at Cremona. The auxiliaries from Gaul renounce the cause of Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus enforces the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. XXXII. Montanus, who commanded a Vitellian cohort at Cremona, is sent to Civilis to require that chief to lay down his arms. Civilis inflames the turbulent spirit of Montanus. XXXIII. Civilis sends a detachment against Vocula. A battle is fought, prosperous at first on the side of the Germans. The Romans prevail at last. Vocula makes no use of his victory. XXXVI. Civilis makes himself master of Gelduba. A fresh sedition among the Romans. The soldiers murder Hordeonius Flaccus. Vocula in the disguise of a slave makes his escape. XXXVII. Vocula resumes the command, and marches to raise the siege of Magontiacum. The Treverians revolt to Civilis. XXXVIII. Transactions at Rome. Vespasian and Titus declared consuls in their absence. A famine dreaded at Rome, and Africa supposed to be in arms. XXXIX. Domitian prætor. Mucianus jealous of Antonius Primus, and Arrius Varus. He lessens the power of both. Part of the army*



*ordered back to Germany, and tranquillity thereby restored at Rome. XL. Honour done to the memory of Galba. Musonius Rufus renews his accusation against Publius Celer. Celer condemned. XLII. Messala intercedes for his brother Aquilius Regulus, a notorious informer. Curtius Montanus makes a vehement speech against Regulus. XLIII. Eprius Marcellus is again attacked by Helvidius Priscus. Domitian proposes a general oblivion of all past grievances. A few offenders ordered to return to their place of exile. XLV. A senator complains of having been beat by the inhabitants of Sienna. The guilty brought to Rome, and punished. XLVI. A violent sedition among the prætorian bands quelled by Mucianus. The order of succession to the consulship established by Vitellius declared void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus performed with the honours usually paid to the rank of censor. XLVIII. Assassination of Lucius Piso in Africa. L. War between the Æensians and the people of Leptis prevented by Festus, the commander of the legions. The Garamantes put to flight. LI. Vespasian informed of the death of Vitellius. Succours offered by the Parthian king, but refused. LII. Vespasian exasperated by the accounts of Domitian's conduct at Rome. Titus endeavours to mitigate the anger of his father, and sets out to conduct the war against the Jews. LIII. The rebuilding of the capitol entrusted to Lucius Vestinus. LIV. Two wars at once in Germany and Gaul, occasioned by the death of Vitellius. Civilis avows his hostile intentions. The Treverians and Lingones revolt from the Romans, under the influence of Classicus, Tutor, and Julius Sabinus. The other states of Gaul on the point of revolting. LVIII. Vocula harangues his soldiers. He is slain by an emissary sent by Classicus. The soldiers declare for the empire of the Gauls. LX. The legions, besieged in the old camp, submit in like manner to the Gauls. LXI. Vow of Civilis to let his beard grow : after the defeat of the legions, he thinks his vow complete.*



plete. He is said to have given certain Roman prisoners to his infant son, to divert himself with shooting arrows at them. He sends presents to Veleda, the German prophetess; Marcus Luperus, sent to her as a present; he is killed on the road. Veleda had foretold the destruction of the legions, and her authority increases throughout Germany. LXII. The captive legions march in a dismal procession from Novesium to the Treverian territories. Magnanimous behaviour of the Picentinian Squadron of horse. LXIII. The Agrippinian colony in danger from the nations beyond the Rhine. LXVI. Civilis gives battle to Claudius Labio; and, having routed him, receives the Batavians and Tungrians under his protection. LXVII. The Lingones defeated by the Sequanians. Julius Sabinus, the Lingonian chief, escapes, and lives in subterraneous caves for nine years afterwards. The memorable constancy of his wife, Eponina. LXVIII. At Rome the empire thought to be in danger. Mucianus and Domitian prepare to set out for Gaul. The Gauls call a general assembly of the states. They prefer peace to the dangers of war. LXX. Civilis and Tutor differ in their opinions about the conduct of the war. Classicus agrees with Tutor, and they resolve to hazard a battle. LXXI. Petilius Cerealis arrives at Magoniacum. He gains a complete victory over the Treverians at Rigodulum, on the banks of the Moselle. Valentinus, the Treverian chief, taken prisoner. LXXII. The legions, that had revolted, return to their duty, and are received into the Roman camp. LXXIII. Cerealis receives the Treverians and Lingones under his protection. LXXV. Cerealis gives battle to Civilis and Classicus: the beginning of the conflict doubtful, but the issue favourable to the Romans. LXXIX. The Agrippinians desert the cause of the Germans. LXXX. Mucianus orders the son of Vitellius to be put to death. Antonius Primus, resenting the behaviour of Mucianus, proceeds to Vespasian, but is not well received.



LXXXI. *Miracles performed by Vespasian at Alexandria. He visits the temple of Serapis.* LXXXIII. *An account of the origin, and superstitious worship paid by the Ægyptians to that god.* LXXXV. *Near the foot of the Alps Valentinus is brought a prisoner before Mucianus and Domitian. He is condemned to die. The firmness with which he meets his fate.* LXXXVI. *Domitian arrives at Lyons. He attempts to prevail on Cerealis to resign the command of the army in Germany. His dissimulation, and pretended love of studious retirement, the better to bide his real passions.*

*These transactions passed partly during the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius, in the year of Rome 822 ; and partly after the elevation of Vespasian, in the*

Year of Rome — of Christ  
823            70

Flavius Vespasianus } Consuls.  
Titus, his Son

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
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I. **T**HOUGH the war, by the death of Vitellius, was completely ended, peace was by no means established. The victorious troops, with minds envenomed, fierce and unrelenting, continued prowling about the streets of Rome in quest of the Vitellians. Every part of the city presented a scene of carnage; the forum and the temples were dyed with blood, and all, who fell in the way of the conquerors, were put to the sword without distinction. From the streets and public places the soldiers rushed into private houses, and, in their fury, dragged forth the unhappy victims. Whoever was grown up to manhood, citizen or soldier, was butchered on the spot. The fury of the men was at length glutted with blood, and the love of plunder succeeded. Nothing was

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was suffered to remain concealed, nothing unviolated. Under colour of detecting the partisans of Vitellius, they broke open every secret recess in quest of booty. Houses were pillaged, and all, who attempted to resist, died by the edge of the sword. The vile and indigent joined in the fray; slaves discovered the wealth of their masters; and numbers suffered by the treachery of their friends. The groans of despair were heard in every quarter, and Rome was filled with all the horrors of a city taken by storm. In comparison with the present barbarity, the people regretted the licentiousness of the Othonian and Vitellian soldiers. The leading chiefs, who had succeeded so well in kindling the flame of war, had now no authority to check the insolence of victory. In the hour of tumult and public distraction, the bold and desperate take the lead; peace and good order are the work of virtue and ability.

II. DOMITIAN fixed his residence in the imperial palace, enjoying the name of Cæsar, but without aspiring to a share in the cares of government. Riot and debauchery gave the first impression of the emperor's son. The command of the prætorian bands was assigned to Arrius Varus, while the supreme authority rested with Antonius, who, in haste to enrich himself, seized the treasure and the slaves of the prince, as if they were the spoils of Cremona. The other officers, who, through their own moderation or want of spirit, were undistinguished during the war, remained in obscurity, unnoticed, and unrewarded. The people, still in consternation, and ready to crouch in servitude, expressed their wishes that Lucius Vitellius, then advancing with the cohorts from Taracina, might be intercepted on his march, in order, by that blow, to end the war. The cavalry was sent forward to Aricia (*a*), and the legions took their station at Bovillæ (*b*). But Lucius Vitellius was no longer disposed to maintain the conflict. He

and

and his cohorts surrendered at discretion. The soldiers, abandoning an unfortunate cause, laid down their arms with indignation rather than fear. They entered the city of Rome in a long dismal procession, guarded on each side by a file of troops under arms. In their looks no sign of repentance, no dejected passion; they retained an air of ferocity, and heard the taunts of the vulgar with sullen contempt. A few broke from their ranks to repress the insolence of the populace, but were overpowered by numbers. The rest were secured in prison. Not a word escaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character. They were unfortunate, but still respected for their valour. Lucius Vitellius was put to death. In vice and profligacy he was equal to his brother; in vigour and industry, his superior; by the splendour of success no way benefited; in the day of adversity, a sharer in the general ruin.

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III. CAMPANIA was still in agitation. The disturbances in that country were not so much occasioned by a spirit of opposition to the new prince, as by the internal dissensions of the municipal cities, all at variance among themselves. To compose those differences, and restore public tranquillity, Lucilius Bassus (*a*) was dispatched with a party of light-armed cavalry. On the first appearance of a military force, a perfect calm succeeded. The cities of inferior note were treated with indulgence; but the third legion was stationed in winter quarters at Capua, in order to bridle the principal families, who, by consequence, felt the weight of oppression. To the sufferers at Tarracina no relief was extended; so true it is, that men are more willing to retaliate an injury, than to requite an obligation (*b*): obligation implies a debt, which is a painful sensation; by a stroke of revenge something is thought to be gained. The people of Tarracina saw the slave of Verginius Capito, who, as already



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ready mentioned, betrayed them to the enemy, hanging on a gibbet, with the rings on his fingers, which he received from Vitellius as the reward of his perfidy. That act of justice was all that was done to assuage the sorrows of a city in distress.

At Rome, in the mean time, the senate, conceiving hopes of the new establishment, decreed to Vespasian all the honours which custom had hitherto granted to the reigning prince. The flame of war, which first broke out in Spain and Gaul, and, after spreading into Germany and Illyricum, blazed out in Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, involving the several provinces and armies of the empire, seemed at length, by a severe lustration, to have expiated the crimes of mankind. The joy, occasioned by that pleasing prospect, was heightened by letters from Vespasian, though, by the contents it did not appear that he knew the issue of the war. As if that event had not yet reached his ear, he wrote in the style and language of an emperor: of himself he spoke with moderation; of the commonwealth with pomp and dignity. Nor was the senate backward in demonstrations of obsequious duty. They decreed the consulship to Vespasian and his son Titus. Domitian was made (*c*) prætor with consular authority.

IV. MUCIANUS had also thought fit to write to the senate. His letters gave room for various reflections. Men observed, “ If he was still a private citizen, why aspire above his rank (*a*), “ and usurp the prerogative of the sovereign? What he had to “ communicate, might have been reserved, till he took his seat “ in the senate. His strain of invective against Vitellius came too “ late, and, after that emperor’s death, gave no proof of ardour “ in the cause of liberty. His vain-glorious boast, that, having “ the sovereign power in his own disposal, he resigned it to Vespasian, was deemed an insult to the commonwealth, and, as far

“ as it related to the prince, highly arrogant.” But the senate acted with diffimulation ; they murmured in private, and spoke aloud the language of flattery. They decreed triumphal decorations to Mucianus, in fact for his conduct in the civil war ; but his expedition against the Sarmatians (*b*) was the ostensible reason. The consular ornaments were voted to Antonius Primus, and the prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus.

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The gratitude due to the gods was the next object of their care. They resolved to rebuild the capitol. The several motions were made by Valerius Asiaticus, consul elect. The fathers in general signified their assent by a nod of approbation, or by holding up their hands. A few, who valued themselves for their rank and dignity, or, by their eloquence were able to give new graces to adulation, made elaborate speeches. Helvidius Priscus, prætor elect, delivered his sentiments in a manly strain. His speech was the panegyric of a virtuous prince, without a tincture of flattery. He was heard with applause by the whole assembly ; and yet that day, so truly illustrious, may be called the first of his danger as well as glory.

V. As we shall have frequent occasion, in the course of our history, to speak of this excellent man (*a*), it may be proper, in this place, to touch the features of his character, his conduct in life, and the fortune that attended him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal city of Tarracina. His father, Cluvius, was a centurion of principal rank. Blessed with talents and an early genius, Helvidius applied himself to speculations of the sublimest kind ; not with a design, as many have done, to grace a life of indolence with the name of abstract philosophy, but to bring with him into public business a mind provided with science, and prepared to meet every danger. He adopted the



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tenets of those philosophers, who maintain, that nothing can be deemed an evil but vice ; and nothing a positive good, but what is fair and honourable ; who place in the class of things indifferent all external advantages, and consider power, wealth, and nobility as foreign to the soul, mere adventitious circumstances, in themselves equivocal, neither good nor evil. He had risen no higher than the quæstorian rank, when Pætus Thrasea (*b*) gave him his daughter in marriage. Of all the virtues of his father-in-law he imbibed none so deeply, as the spirit of liberty, which animated that extraordinary man. He performed the relative duties of every station with the strictest attention ; citizen, senator, husband, friend, and son-in-law, he discharged all parts with equal lustre ; despising riches ; in the cause of truth inflexible, and, when danger threatened, erect and firm.

VI. THE love of fame was by some objected to him as his strongest motive, his ruling passion. But the love of fame, it should be remembered, is often the incentive of the wise and good, the great principle of the noble mind, and the last which it resigns (*a*). When his father-in-law fell a victim to his enemies, Helvidius was driven into exile ; but, being afterwards recalled by Galba (*b*), he stood forth the accuser of Eprius Marcellus, the informer (*c*), who wrought the downfall of Pætus Thrasea. By that vindictive measure, as bold as it was just, the senate was divided into contending factions. The ruin of Marcellus, it was clearly seen, would draw after it the whole legion of informers. The cause, however, went on, supported on both sides with equal ardour, and consummate eloquence. Galba balanced between the parties, and the leading senators interposed to end the contest. At their request, Helvidius desisted from the prosecution. His conduct, as usual, underwent various constructions ; some commending the moderation of his temper, while others

condemned him for his want of firmness. The day at length arrived, when the senate met (*d*) to confirm the imperial dignity to Vespasian. It was agreed that deputies should be sent to congratulate the prince on his accession. In the debate upon this occasion, a sharp conflict ensued between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus. The former proposed that the ambassadors should be named by magistrates sworn for the purpose. The latter was for drawing the names by lot, as had been proposed by Valerius Asiaticus, the consul elect, who first moved in the business.

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VII. MARCELLUS contended the point with force and vehemence. If an open election took place, he dreaded the disgrace of being rejected. The dispute, at first, was carried on in short, but passionate, onsets; from altercation it rose to the form of regular speeches. “Why,” said Helvidius, “does Marcellus decline  
“the judgment of the magistrates? The influence of wealth is  
“on his side; the fame of eloquence gives him great advantages;  
“but, perhaps, the memory of his guilt is not yet effaced. By  
“drawing names out of an urn, no distinction of character is  
“made. The mode of open suffrages is an appeal to the judg-  
“ment of the senate, and, in that way of proceeding, the fame  
“and morals of men are brought to the test. It is for the in-  
“terest of the community, and the honour of the prince, that  
“such as approach him on so important an event, should be  
“chosen with discrimination, men of fair integrity, who are  
“known to carry with them sentiments and principles worthy  
“of the imperial ear. Vespasian had been, heretofore, in habits  
“of friendship with Thrasea, with Soranus, and Sentius(*a*); and if  
“the informers, who ruined those excellent men, are not to suffer  
“the punishment due to their crimes, let them not expect, in  
“the opening of a new reign, to play the first characters in the  
“state.



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“state. By the choice of the senate, the prince would see a line  
“of distinction between the men, whom he may safely trust, and  
“such, as deserve to be removed for ever from his presence. Vir-  
“tuous friends are the true support of an upright government.  
“Marcellus may rest satisfied with the exploits of his life: he  
“incited Nero to the murder of the most illustrious citizens; that  
“was his victory; let him enjoy the rewards of his guilt; let  
“him triumph with impunity; but let him leave Vespasian to  
“better men than himself.”

VIII. MARCELLUS observed in reply, “that the motion, which  
“was opposed with so much warmth, did not originate with  
“himself. It was proposed by the consul elect, in conformity to  
“ancient precedents (*a*), by which, to prevent intrigue and cabal,  
“the choice of ambassadors had been wisely left to be decided by  
“lot. And is there now any reason to warrant a departure from  
“a system so long established, with intent, under colour of doing  
“honour to the prince, to give a stab to the character of indivi-  
“duals? To pay due homage to the prince, was competent to  
“all without distinction. The danger to be apprehended, at  
“present, is, that by the sullen humour of discontented men, an  
“impression may be made on the mind of an emperor, new to  
“the cares of state, and for that reason jealous of all, balancing  
“their words, and forming a judgment of their looks and most  
“frivolous actions. For himself, he knew the temper of the  
“times in which he lived, nor was he a stranger to the form of  
“government established by the old republic: he admired the  
“past, and submitted to the present system, wishing, at all times,  
“for a race of virtuous princes, but willing to acquiesce under the  
“worst. The fall of Thrasea could not, with any colour of  
“reason, be imputed to him (*b*): the fathers heard the cause,  
“and pronounced judgment against him. Nero, it was well  
“known,

“ known, amused mankind with a shew of justice, while, under  
 “ the forms of law, he practised the most unrelenting cruelty.  
 “ Nor did others suffer more by the pains and penalties of exile,  
 “ than he himself had felt from the dangerous friendship of that  
 “ emperor. Let Helvidius, if he will have it so, be ranked with  
 “ Cato and with Brutus ; in courage and unshaken fortitude let  
 “ him rival those exalted worthies : for himself, he pretended to  
 “ be no more than one of that very senate, which submitted with  
 “ passive obedience to the reigning prince. But if he might  
 “ presume to advise Helvidius, he would caution him not to  
 “ aspire above his sovereign, nor affect, with airs of superior wis-  
 “ dom, to give dogmatical lessons to a prince advanced in years,  
 “ who had gained triumphal honours, and was the father of two  
 “ princes flourishing in the prime of life. For though it be true,  
 “ that despotic power is the constant aim of the worst princes ; it  
 “ is equally true, that liberty, without due limitations, is never  
 “ agreeable even to the best.” Such were the arguments urged  
 on both sides. The fathers heard the debate with divided senti-  
 ments. The party, that inclined to the old practice of drawing  
 the names by lot, prevailed in the end, supported, as they were,  
 by the most illustrious members, who foresaw the danger of  
 giving umbrage to numbers, if the choice was decided by a  
 majority of voices.

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IX. THIS debate was followed by another no less warm and  
 spirited. The prætors, who, at that time, conducted the depart-  
 ment of the treasury (*a*), after giving a gloomy picture of the  
 distress and poverty of the state, proposed a plan of public œco-  
 nomy. The consul elect opposed the motion. The business, he  
 said, was in itself of so much magnitude, and the remedy so nice  
 and difficult, that the question ought to be reserved for the confi-  
 deration of the prince. Helvidius Priscus was of a contrary  
 opinion.



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opinion. To make new regulations, he contended, was the duty and the province of the senate. The consuls put the question, and were proceeding to collect the votes, when Volcatius Tertulinus, a tribune of the people, interposed his authority, that in so arduous a business nothing might be determined in the absence of the emperor. Helvidius had moved another resolution, importing that the capitol should be rebuilt by the public, with the voluntary aid of Vespasian. No debate ensued. Men of moderation wished to give their silent negative, and consign the motion to oblivion: but certain busy memories hoarded it up for a future day (*b*).

X. MUSONIUS RUFUS (*a*) took this opportunity to fall on Publius Celer (*b*), whom he charged with having, by false testimony, taken away the life of Bareas Soranus (*c*). A prosecution of this kind tended to revive the resentments of the public against the whole race of informers; but an offender so vile, and so detested, could not be screened from justice. The memory of Soranus was held in veneration, and in the conduct of Celer there were circumstances that aggravated his crime. Professing to be a teacher of wisdom and philosophy, he took up the trade of an informer. He affected to explain the laws of friendship, and, in open violation of his own rules, became a traitor to the pupil, whom it was his duty to protect. The cause was appointed to be heard at the next meeting of the senate. In the mean time the minds of men were eager with expectation, not only to see Musonius and Publius Celer engaged in a public controversy, but also to behold Helvidius Priscus returning to the charge against Eprius Marcellus, and the rest of that detested crew.

XI. IN this distracted state of affairs, when the senate was divided into factions; when a ruined party still breathed resentment,

ment, and the conquerors were without authority; when no law was in force, and no sovereign at the head of the government; Mucianus entered the city, and soon engrossed into his own hands the whole power of the state. The influence of Antonius, with that of Arrius Varus, vanished at once. Mucianus, harbouring secret animosity, amused them with a specious shew of friendship; but a fair face could not disguise the malice of his heart. The people of Rome, ever quick to discern the spirit of parties, transferred their homage to Mucianus. He was now the rising sun. All degrees and ranks of men paid court to him alone. Mucianus, on his part, omitted nothing that could add to the grandeur of his appearance. He appeared in public attended by guards; he removed from one palace to another, and resorted to different gardens: his train, his equipage, and his pompous display announced the ambition of the man. He assumed the majesty of empire, renouncing the title only. His first act of power struck a general terror. He ordered Calpurnius Galerianus (*a*) to be put to death. The unfortunate victim was the son of Caius Piso. His popularity, his youth, and the graces of his person, were his only crimes. In a city like Rome, still in agitation, prone to change, and listening with greedy ears to every rumour, Calpurnius was marked out, by the discourse of shallow politicians, as a person likely to succeed to the sovereign power. By order of Mucianus he was taken into custody, and, under a military guard, conveyed to a place forty miles distant on the Appian road. His veins were there opened, and he bled to death. Mucianus did not choose to hazard so tragical a scene in the city of Rome. Julius Priscus, who commanded the prætorian bands under Vitellius, without any urgent necessity, but conscious of various iniquities, dispatched himself with his own hand. Alphenus Varus preferred a life of disgrace and infamy. Asiaticus, the freedman (*b*), suffered the punishment of common slaves, and,

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and, by that ignominious end, made atonement for the abuse of his ill-gotten power.

XII. ABOUT this period, the report which had prevailed for some time, of a dreadful defeat in Germany, was confirmed by fresh advices. The news made no impression at Rome. Men talked with calm indifference of the revolt of the provinces in Gaul, of the slaughter of armies, and of legions stormed in their winter-quarters. Distant events were not considered as calamities. The flame of war being kindled in Germany, the occasion requires that we here explain the causes of that convulsion, which involved the allies of Rome, and armed whole nations of barbarians against the Roman empire.

The Batavians (*a*), while they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the people, called the Cattians. Driven from their native country by intestine commotions, they settled on a waste tract of land bordering on the confines of Gaul, and, at the same time, took possession of an island washed at the northern extremity by the ocean, and at the back, and on both sides, by two branches of the Rhine. They formed a treaty of alliance with the Romans, and did not suffer by their friendship. A supply of men and arms was the whole of their contribution. In the wars in Germany they learned to be soldiers. They passed afterwards into Britain (*b*), under the command of their own chiefs (according to their peculiar custom), and added new laurels to their former fame. In their own country they maintained a chosen body of cavalry, so expert in the art of swimming, that, in whole squadrons, incumbered with their arms, and moving in regular order, they could dash across the current of the Rhine.

XIII. THE leading chieftains of the nation were Julius Paulus  
and

and Claudius Civilis (*a*), both of royal descent. The former, under a false charge of rebellion, was put to death by Fonteius Capito. Civilis was sent in irons to be disposed of by Nero: Galba released him from his fetters. Under Vitellius, he was again in danger from the fury of the Roman soldiers, who called aloud for his execution. Hence his hatred of the Roman name, and his hopes of success founded on the distractions of the empire. Disfigured by the loss of an eye, he took occasion from that blemish to call himself a second Sertorius (*b*), or another Hannibal. Politic beyond the reach of Barbarians, he wished to avoid an open rupture with Rome, and, to that end, affected to espouse the cause of Vespasian. To this conduct some colour was given by the letters, which he received from Antonius, directing him to make a diversion in Germany, in order to prevent the succour of the legions expected by Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus gave the same order in person. That general was a friend to Vespasian's cause, but chiefly zealous in the cause of his country. If such prodigious numbers made an irruption into Italy, he trembled for the fate of the empire.

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XIV. CIVILIS had taken his resolution to throw off the yoke. With a bold, but concealed, plan of ambition, he looked forward to future contingencies, and took his measures in the following manner. By order of Vitellius, new levies were to be made, and the youth of Batavia was to be called out. This expedient, harsh in itself, was rendered still more so by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers. By their direction the aged and infirm were pressed into the service, in order to extort from them a stipulated price for their dismissal. Boys of tender years, but advanced in their growth (as is generally the case in that country), were dragged away to gratify the criminal passions of their masters. Hence murmurs, jealousies, and grievous complaints. The lead-



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ers of the conspiracy saw their opportunity, and, by their advice, the people refused to be enrolled. Civilis, under the pretext of a convivial meeting, drew together the prime nobility, and the bravest of the nation, to a banquet (*a*) in a sacred grove. At a late hour, when wine and midnight revelry had inflamed their spirits, he took occasion to expatiate on the fame and military exploits of the Batavians, artfully making a transition to the sufferings of his countrymen, the depredations of the Romans, and the cruel tyranny, under which the nation groaned. “Rome,” he said, “no longer treats us as allies and friends: we are reduced to the vilest bondage. The commanders of legions were wont to come among us with their train of attendants, always a grievous burthen; but even that honour is now withheld. We are turned over to centurions and subaltern officers. Those petty tyrants are no sooner enriched with plunder, and pampered with our blood, than they are recalled, to make way for new oppressors. Rapacity follows in succession; and, to varnish their guilt, new expedients are found, and new names for extortion. A project is now on foot to recruit their armies, and, for that purpose, the country must be drained of inhabitants; sons must be torn from their parents, and brothers from their brothers. And yet the Romans were never, at any period, in so feeble a condition. Behold their winter-quarters: besides their old men, and their stores of plunder, what have they to exhibit to our view? Dare to lift your eyes, and you will see the phantom of an army, mere nominal legions. Our forces are in vigour: we have both infantry and cavalry: the Germans are our kinsmen; the Gauls think as we do; and even the Romans themselves invite us to the war. If we fail, our zeal for Vespasian will plead our excuse; if we succeed, victory gives no account of her actions.”

XV. THIS speech was received with shouts of approbation. Civilis, taking advantage of the impresson he had made, bound them all in a solemn league, with oaths and imprecations, according to the custom of Barbarians. Deputies were sent to the Caninefates, to invite them into the confederacy. That nation occupies part of the island (*a*), in their origin, their manners, language and military virtue equal to the Batavians, but inferior in point of numbers. The Batavian cohorts, formerly sent to serve in Britain, as already mentioned, returned from that expedition, and were quartered at Magontiacum (*b*). By secret practices Civilis engaged them in the revolt. The leading chieftain among the Caninefates was known by the name of Brinno; a man of brutal and ferocious bravery, and by his birth illustrious. His father had been often in arms against the Romans, and, after many signal exploits, laughed at the ridiculous expedition and the mock triumph of Caligula (*c*). The descendant of a rebel family wanted no recommendation to his countrymen. Brinno was placed on a shield, according to the custom of the nation, and, being carried in triumph on the shoulders of the men, was declared commander in chief. He was soon after joined by the Frisians (*d*), a people beyond the Rhine. With this reinforcement he found means to storm the winter-quarters of two cohorts, which, except the extremity next to the sea, lay open and defenceless. The assault was not foreseen, nor were the Romans in force to maintain their post. The camp was taken and pillaged. The victuallers, and Roman traders, who had spread themselves over the country, were the next victims. That the castles and forts, built along the coast, might not fall into the hands of the enemy, the Roman officers, seeing an attack intended, ordered them all to be burnt to the ground. Aquillius, a principal centurion, collected together all the colours and standards, and, with the remnant of his forces, chose a station



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on the upper part of the island (*e*), exhibiting rather the name than the strength of an army. The flower of the cohorts had been drawn away by Vitellius, and, to fill up the companies, a set of raw recruits, from the neighbouring villages of the Nervians and Germans, were compelled to take up arms. But arms in the hands of men not enured to discipline, were an unwieldy burthen.

XVI. CIVILIS, still thinking it his interest to disguise his real intentions, complained aloud of the Roman officers, who had deserted their posts. With the cohort under his command, he would undertake to quell the insurrection of the Caninefates: the Romans, therefore, would do well to return to their quarters. The policy of this advice was too apparent. The cohorts, dispersed and weakened by division, might fall an easy prey; and from various circumstances, which the martial spirit of the Germans could not suppress, it soon transpired, that Civilis, and not Brinno, was at the head of the revolt. At length that enterprising chief, finding that he gained nothing by his wily arts, resolved to throw off the mask. He drew up his army in three divisions, consisting of the Caninefates, the Frisians, and Batavians, all distinguished by their proper colours and standards. The Romans appeared in order of battle on the banks of the Rhine, while their ships, which, after setting fire to the forts and castles, had been collected together, advanced up the river to second the operations of the army. A battle ensued, and had not lasted long, when a cohort of Tungrians, with their ensigns displayed, went over to Civilis. By this unexpected treachery, the Roman army was thrown into confusion. The soldiers found themselves beset on every side. They were slaughtered by their friends and enemies. Nor did the fleet behave with more fidelity. Numbers of the men at the oars were Batavians: they began, as it were,

were through ignorance and want of skill, to counteract the mariners and sailors, till, at length, turning the prows of the vessels, they bore away to the opposite shore. The pilots and centurions, who dared to oppose them, were put to death; and thus the whole fleet, to the number of four-and-twenty ships, was either taken, or went over to the enemy.

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XVII. THIS victory was splendid, and, at the same time, brought with it solid advantages. The Batavians were in want of arms and shipping, and they were now supplied with both. Their fame resounded throughout Gaul and Germany. Both nations honoured them as the assertors of public liberty. The Germans, by their ambassadors, offered to espouse their cause, and the Gauls were already inclined to join the confederacy. Civilis had the address to allure that nation to his interest. To such of their officers as were taken prisoners he granted liberty to return to their native country, and the cohorts had their option either to depart, or to join the victorious army. Those, who remained, were employed honourably in the service, and, such as preferred their dismissal, went off loaded with the spoils of the Romans. Before their departure, Civilis laboured, in secret conferences, to inflame their indignation. “Call to mind,” he said, “the miseries which you have endured for a series of years. Your condition, during that period, was a state of bondage, and you gave it the name of peace. The Batavians were exempt from taxes and tributes, and yet they took up arms against the oppressors of mankind. In the first engagement, the Romans fled before the sons of freedom. Let the Gauls shake off the yoke, and what must be the consequence? The resources of Italy are exhausted. It is by the blood of the provinces that the provinces have been wrested from us. For the defeat of Vindex (*a*) the Romans have no reason to triumph.



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“ triumph. That victory was gained by the Batavian cavalry : by  
 “ them the *Æduans* and *Arvernians* were put to the rout. Among  
 “ the auxiliaries led by *Verginius* on that occasion, the *Belgic*  
 “ *Gauls* were his strongest force. Gaul, it may be truly said,  
 “ was conquered by herself. At present, one common interest  
 “ unites us all, and we have this further advantage ; whatever of  
 “ useful discipline was to be found in the Roman camps, we have  
 “ made that our own. Their military skill is on our side. The  
 “ veteran cohorts, before whom *Otho’s* legions were obliged to  
 “ fly, have declared for us. Syria, and Asia, and the oriental  
 “ nations may, if they will, bow down in slavery, and stretch  
 “ their necks to the yoke : under their own despotic kings they  
 “ have been taught to crouch in bondage. In Gaul there are  
 “ men still living, who were born in freedom, before tributes (*b*),  
 “ imposts, and other badges of Roman tyranny were invented.  
 “ By the overthrow of *Varus* and his legions slavery was dri-  
 “ ven out of Germany. In that juncture, it was not with a  
 “ *Vitellius* that the assertors of freedom were to contend : the  
 “ struggle was with *Augustus Cæsar*. Against that emperor the  
 “ Germans fought for liberty, that best gift, dealt out by the im-  
 “ partial hand of nature, even to the brute creation. Man has  
 “ the addition of courage and virtue to defend his rights ; and  
 “ all, who have the fortitude to stand forth in that glorious  
 “ cause, are sure to be favoured by the gods. Let us rise at once,  
 “ and, sword in hand, attack a people weakened by their own  
 “ divisions. Our strength is unimpaired ; the Romans are ex-  
 “ hausted ; they are divided between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* ;  
 “ and, while they are fighting for a master, they offer them-  
 “ selves to the just vengeance of an injured people.”

XVIII. WHILE *Civilis*, in this manner, endeavoured to rouse  
 the states of Gaul and Germany, the ambition of that politic war-  
 rior

rior inspired all his measures. If his project succeeded, he thought of nothing less than making himself king of those rich and powerful nations. Hordeonius Flaccus affected, for some time, to have no suspicion of Civilis. He soon, however, received intelligence that the camp was taken by storm, the cohorts put to the sword, and the Roman name exterminated from the Isle of Batavia. In this alarming crisis, he ordered Mummius Lupercus, with two legions, then under his command in winter quarters, to march against the enemy. That officer obeyed with prompt alacrity. With the forces in his camp, with the Ubians, who were near at hand, and the Treverian cavalry, drawn from an inconsiderable distance, he passed over into the island. He added to his army a squadron of Batavian horse, already corrupted by the wily arts of Civilis. These men made a shew of zeal in the service of the Romans, to the end that, on the day of battle, they might enhance the value of their treachery. Civilis prepared to receive the enemy. Near his person he displayed the banners taken from the vanquished cohorts, that the sight of those glorious trophies might inspire his troops with ardour; and depress a conquered enemy by the recollection of their late calamity. In the rear he placed his mother and his sisters, with the wives and children of the soldiers, that they might there inflame the ardour of the combatants, and, by their reproaches, prevent an ignominious flight. The field resounded with the war-song of the soldiers, and the savage howlings of the women. The Romans returned a feeble shout. The Batavian cavalry went over to their countrymen, and, by that desertion, the left wing of the Roman army was exposed to the enemy. The legionary soldiers, though pressed on every side, preserved their ranks, and shewed an intrepid countenance. The Ubian and Treverian auxiliaries fled with precipitation. The Germans pursued them with determined fury. The legions, in the mean time, seized the opportunity, and retreated

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retreated in good order to the station known by the name of VETERA, or the old camp (*a*). After this victory, a struggle for power and pre-eminence broke out between Civilis and Claudius Labeo, who commanded the Batavian cavalry. Civilis did not judge it safe to put his rival to death: an act of violence might provoke the popular hatred; and yet, if he suffered him to remain with the army, internal discord might be productive of quarrels and confusion. Labeo was removed to the country of the Frisians.

XIX. SUCH was the posture of affairs, when the Caninefates and a detachment of Batavian cohorts, by order of Vitellius, set out on their march for Rome. A messenger dispatched by Civilis overtook them with the news of his victory. The intelligence filled the soldiers with arrogance and ferocity. They demanded a recompense for their march, the donative promised by Vitellius, with double pay, and an augmentation of their cavalry. In making these demands, they had no hopes of success; a pretext for sedition was all they wanted. Hordeonius Flaccus yielded in several instances; but his concessions provoked ulterior demands, which the men knew would not be granted. At length, throwing aside all respect for the general, they resolved to join Civilis, and accordingly bent their course towards the Lower Germany. Flaccus called a council of the tribunes and centurions, to deliberate whether it were expedient to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. His natural timidity returned upon him, and his officers had no resolution. They suspected the fidelity of the auxiliary forces, and knew besides, that the legions were chiefly filled with raw recruits. Flaccus resolved to keep his men within their entrenchments; but he resolved without decision, and the next moment repented. The very officers, who advised the measure, were the first to condemn it. The general sent off  
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dispatches

dispatches to Herennius Gallus, then at the head of the first legion stationed at Bonn (*a*), with orders to oppose the march of the Batavians, while he himself with his whole army hung upon their rear. The plan was, no doubt, well concerted. Had both generals advanced with their troops, the revoltors must have been hemmed in, and cut to pieces. Flaccus once more changed his mind. In a second letter to Gallus, he directed that officer not to obstruct the Batavians in their march. By this fluctuation of counsels both the generals were brought under a cloud of suspicion. The war and all its consequences were imputed, not to the inactive spirit of the soldiers, nor yet to the superior bravery of the insurgents, but to the perfidy of the commanding officers.

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XX. THE Batavians, as soon as they drew near to the camp at Bonn, sent a message to Herennius Gallus, importing, “that they had no hostile design. They had often fought for the Romans, and did not mean to make war against them. Worn out in a long and painful service, they desired nothing but a retreat from labour in their native country. Their march, if not obstructed, would leave behind no trace of mischief; but, if their passage was disputed, they were determined to cut their way sword in hand.” The Roman general was staggered by these menaces; but his soldiers, eager for action, obliged him to hazard a battle. The whole army rushed out at the several gates of the camp, in number three thousand legionary soldiers, some Belgic cohorts raised by sudden levies, and a large body of peasants and followers of the camp, an undisciplined band, before the onset brave and insolent, and in the heat of action the first to betake themselves to flight. The Romans hoped to surround an enemy, whom they knew to be inferior in number. The Batavians, whom a life of warfare had made soldiers, formed their ranks with skill; the front, the flanks, and the rear prepared to



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meet the enemy. The Roman lines were too much extended into length. The Batavians attacked with fury, and soon broke through the ranks. The Belgic cohorts gave way on the first impression. The rout of the legions followed. All endeavoured to regain their camp. In the entrenchments a dreadful slaughter followed. The fosse was filled with mangled bodies, nor was the havoc made by the Batavians only : numbers, in that wild confusion, perished by the hands of their comrades. The conquerors pursued their march, avoiding the road to the Agrippinian colony, and, during the rest of their way, committed no act of hostility. They even endeavoured to exculpate themselves from all imputation in their late encounter at Bonn, alleging, that they were, on that occasion, under the necessity of acting on the defensive, when peace was humbly offered, and haughtily refused.

XXI. CIVILIS, being now reinforced by these veteran cohorts, found himself at the head of a regular army. His resolution, notwithstanding, began to falter. The weight and power of the Romans presented themselves to his mind ; he balanced all consequences, and, still remaining indecisive, judged it best to save appearances by making his whole army take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. He also sent a deputation to the two legions, which, after their late defeat, retired to the old camp, inviting them to follow his example, and acknowledge the title of the new emperor. The legions returned for answer, “ that it was not  
“ their custom to adopt the counsels of an enemy, much less of a  
“ traitor. Vitellius was their sovereign, and in his cause they  
“ would stand firm to the last. It was not for a deserter, a Ba-  
“ tavian fugitive, to assume the style and character of an arbiter  
“ in the affairs of Rome. The punishment due to his crimes  
“ was what he had to expect.” Enraged by this reply, Civilis

roused

roufed the whole Batavian nation. The Brufterians and Tenterians (*a*) entered into the league, and by agents, difpatched for the purpofe, all Germany was invited to fhare in the fpoil and glory of the conquest.

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XXII. MUMMIUS LUPERCUS and Numifius Rufus, the two Roman generals, faw a ftorm gathering round them, and, to maintain their poft againft the combined forces of the enemy, began to ftrengthen the fortifications of the old camp. A number of buildings, during a long peace, had been erected near the entrenchments, fo thick as to refemble a municipal town ; but, in time of war, they might favour the approach of an enemy, and, for that reafon, were levelled to the ground. But a fufficient ftore of provifions was not laid up in the camp. The foldiers were permitted to feize the whole ftock, as lawful plunder ; and, by confequence, that, which might have held out for a confiderable time, was in a few days entirely confumed. Civilis advanced with the main body of his army. He commanded the centre in perfon, at the head of the felect Batavian forces. To ftroke the Romans with terror, he lined both banks of the Rhine with battalions of Germans, and ordered the cavalry to fcour the country round. His fleet, at the fame time, advanced againft the current. To increafe the pomp and terror of the war, the colours taken from the cohorts were difplayed to view, and the images of wild beafts (*a*) were brought forth from the fared groves, according to the cuftom of thofe barbarous nations rufhing to a battle. The befieged faw the appearance of a civil and a foreign war upon their hands at once. The extent of the entrenchments, defigned at firft for the reception of two legions, and now defended by fcarce five thoufand men, infpired the Barbarians with hope and courage. It is true, that within the lines there was a numerous body of futlers and followers of the

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army,



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army, who, on the first alarm, had fled to the camp for protection, and from those men some kind of service was expected.

XXIII. THE camp stood partly on the side of a hill, that rose with a gentle acclivity, and partly on the level plain ; originally the design of Augustus Cæsar, who had conceived, that the legions, stationed there in winter quarters, would be able to bridle both the Germanics. That emperor did not foresee the time, when the Barbarians would dare to seek the legions in their entrenchments. It followed, by consequence, that no pains were employed to add to the natural strength of the place ; no works were thrown up to secure the ramparts ; courage and military discipline were deemed a sufficient bulwark. The Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, did not advance to the attack in one united body. Jealous of their national honour, and eager to distinguish themselves by brave exploit, the several nations formed their lines in separate divisions. The assault began with missive weapons lanced at a distance ; but no impression was made. The darts hung, without effect, upon the towers and pinnacles of the walls, while the discharge of stones from the fortifications overwhelmed all beneath. The Barbarians resolved to storm the works. They rushed to the attack, rending the air with wild and furious howlings ; they advanced their scaling-ladders, and formed a military shell. Some boldly gained the top of the parapet, but were driven back at the point of the sword, or beat down with bucklers. As they fell, numbers were crushed with stakes and javelins. Their own impetuous fury hurried them into danger. Encouraged by their former success, and sure of victory, they rushed on to the assault with that undaunted courage, with which the thirst of prey inspires the minds of Barbarians. Under every disadvantage, they still thought of plunder. They attempted, for the first time, to make use of battering

tering engines, but without sufficient skill. They were taught by prisoners and deserters to raise, with rude materials, a platform, in the shape of a bridge, and to move it forward upon wheels. From the top of the arch, as from a rampart, some were able to annoy the besieged, while others, under cover, endeavoured to sap the walls. But the weight of stones discharged from the engines of the Romans broke down and crushed the enormous fabric. The Batavians, however, did not desist. They began to prepare penthouses, and to form a covered way with hurdles. The besieged attacked them with a volley of flaming javelins, and poured such an incessant fire, that the assailants were on every side enveloped by the flames. In despair of carrying the works by force, they turned their thoughts to a regular blockade. They knew that the besieged had but a scanty store of provisions, by no means equal to the subsistence of a vast unwarlike multitude. Famine, they had no doubt, would conspire with the natural treachery of the slaves to kindle the flame of sedition in the camp. They relied, besides, on the unforeseen events of war, and had no doubt of being, in a short time, masters of the place.

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XXIV. HORDEONIUS FLACCUS, having received intelligence that the old camp was invested, sent dispatches into Gaul for a reinforcement, and ordered Dillius Vocula, who commanded the eighteenth legion, to proceed, at the head of a chosen detachment, by rapid marches along the banks of the Rhine; while he himself, disabled by bodily infirmity, and detested by his men, sailed down the river, to follow the motions of the army. The complaints of the soldiers against their general were loud and violent. “It was by his connivance that the Batavian cohorts departed  
“from Magontiacum; he was blind, or pretended to be so, to  
“the machinations of Civilis; and he wilfully suffered the Ger-  
“man



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“ man nations to be drawn into the revolt. Neither Antonius  
 “ Primus, nor Mucianus, by their vigour and activity, so effec-  
 “ tually served the interest of Vespasian. Open hostility declares  
 “ itself at once, and men are on their guard: fraud works in  
 “ -secret, and the blow, because concealed, is not easily warded  
 “ off. Civilis has thrown off the mask; above disguise, an open  
 “ enemy, he heads his army in the field. Hordeonius Flaccus  
 “ wages war in his chamber; he gives his orders in bed, and  
 “ favours the operations of the enemy. And shall so many brave  
 “ and warlike soldiers languish under a wretched valetudinarian?  
 “ a superannuated general? Better to strike at once, and, by the  
 “ death of a traitor, deliver the army from an impotent chief,  
 “ under whose inauspicious banners they had nothing to expect  
 “ but disgrace and ruin.” While by these and such like dis-  
 courses the minds of the legions kindled to a blaze, letters from  
 Vespasian added fuel to the flame. The receipt of those letters  
 could not be concealed from the army. Flaccus, for that reason,  
 read them to a full assembly of the soldiers, and sent the messengers  
 bound in chains to Vitellius.

XXV. THAT proceeding had its effect: the men were pacified,  
 and soon after arrived at Bonn, the winter-station of the first  
 legion. The soldiers, at that place, were still more enraged  
 against the general. To his misconduct they imputed their late  
 defeat. “ By his order they marched out to offer battle to the  
 “ Batavians, expecting, while they engaged the enemy in front,  
 “ that the troops from Magontiacum were to fall upon the rear.  
 “ But no succours arrived; the men fell a sacrifice to the trea-  
 “ chery of the general. The other armies, wherever stationed,  
 “ were kept in ignorance of all that passed, nor was any account  
 “ transmitted to Vitellius. And yet it was evident, that, by the  
 “ vigorous efforts of the adjoining provinces, the rebellion might  
 “ have

"have been crushed in the bud." To appease these discontents, Flaccus produced, and read, in the presence of the army, copies of the several letters, by which he had endeavoured to obtain succours from Britain, Spain, and Gaul. He descended to other compliances still more pernicious and disgraceful. He established a new rule, by which it was settled, that, for the future, all letters should be delivered to the eagle-bearers of the legions, to be by them communicated to the soldiers, before they underwent the inspection of the general officers. He then ordered one of the mutineers to be loaded with irons; not that the man was the only incendiary, but the general meant, by that act, to retain some shadow of authority. From Bonn the army proceeded to the Agrippinian colony. At that place they were joined by numerous succours that came pouring in from Gaul, where, in the beginning of the troubles, the people still adhered to the interest of Rome. But, in a short time afterwards, when they saw the efforts of the Germans crowned with success, the different states of that country had recourse to arms, determined to recover their liberty, and, if the enterprise succeeded, with the ambitious design of imposing upon others the yoke, which they shook off from their own shoulders. The fury of the legions was far from being appeased. The example of a single offender bound in chains made no impression. That very man was hardy enough to turn his own particular case into an argument against his general. He had been, he said, the confidential messenger between Flaccus and Civilis; and now, to hinder the truth from being brought to light, his testimony was to be suppressed by an unjust and cruel sentence. The wickedness of this incendiary roused the indignation of Vocula. That spirited officer mounted the tribunal with a firmness, that struck a general awe. He ordered the miscreant to be seized, and, notwithstanding the violence of his shrieks, sent him to instant execution. The seditious were

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overawed, and the well disposed obeyed with alacrity. Vocula was now the favourite of the army. The soldiers, with one voice, insisted that he should be their general, and Flaccus resigned the command.

XXVI. THE minds of the soldiers were still in agitation, and various causes conspired to inflame their discontents. Their pay was in arrear; provisions were scarce; the Gauls were not in a temper to pay their tribute, or to furnish supplies of men; the Rhine, by a long course of dry weather, almost unknown in that climate, was sunk so low, as to be hardly navigable; supplies for the army were conveyed with difficulty; to hinder the Germans from fording over, a chain of posts was necessary on the banks of the river; and, by consequence, there was a dearth of grain, and many mouths to demand it. With vulgar minds, the shallowness of the stream passed for a prodigy. According to their interpretation, the very rivers deserted the Romans, and the ancient boundaries of the empire disappeared. That, which in time of peace (*a*), would have been no more than the effect of natural causes, was now called fate, and the wrath of the gods. The army marched to Novesium (*b*), and was there joined by the thirteenth legion, under the command of Herennius Gallus, who was now associated with Vocula. The two generals were not inclined to seek the enemy. They pitched their camp at a place called Gelduba (*c*), and, to keep their men in exercise, employed them in forming the line of battle, in digging trenches, throwing up ramparts, and other military works. To give them an opportunity to plunder, and by that incentive to animate their courage, Vocula marched with the main body into the territory of the Gugernians (*d*), a people leagued with Civilis. Gallus, in the mean time, with part of the troops, kept possession of the camp.

XXVII. IT

XXVII. It happened that a barge, laden with grain, was stranded in a shallow part of the river, at a small distance from the camp. The Germans exerted themselves to draw the vessel to their own bank. Gallus dispatched a cohort to prevent the disgrace. The Germans poured down in greater numbers. Succours arrived on both sides. An engagement followed. The Germans, after making a prodigious slaughter, secured the vessel. The Romans imputed their defeat not to their own want of valour, but to the treachery of the general. This, in all calamities, was the constant language of the army. The soldiers in their fury dragged Gallus out of his tent; they tore his clothes, and fell on him with blows, demanding, who were the accomplices combined with him to betray the army? and what was the price of his perfidy? Their rage against Hordeonius Flaccus broke out again with increasing violence. He was the author of the crime, and Gallus was an instrument in his hands. In this extremity, to deliver himself from instant death, the general was obliged to yield to the passions of the men, and give his testimony against Hordeonius Flaccus. He was, notwithstanding, loaded with fetters, and not released till Vocula returned to the camp. That general, on the following day, ordered the ring-leaders of the mutiny to be put to death. Such was the wonderful diversity of temper that shewed itself in that army; at one moment, rage and madness, and in quick succession, patience and resignation. The common men, beyond all doubt, were devoted to Vitellius, while the most distinguished officers inclined to Vespasian. Hence that astonishing medley of guilt and punishment, of dutiful behaviour and savage ferocity. The men were unwilling to be governed, and yet submitted to correction.

XXVIII. CIVILIS, in the mean time, grew every day more formidable. All Germany espoused his cause, and succours ar-



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rived from every quarter. The states beyond the Rhine delivered their prime nobility as hostages to bind the league in closer union. Civilis issued his orders, that the confederates, who lay contiguous to the Ubians (*a*) and Treverians, should harass the people by frequent incursions, and carry slaughter and devastation through their country. At the same time, he gave directions that a strong party should pass over the Meuse, to invade the Menapians (*b*), the Morinians, and the frontiers of Gaul. The soldiers in every quarter were enriched with plunder. The Ubians, in particular, felt the vengeance of the ravaging parties. Though they were originally of German extraction, they had renounced their country, and, proud of a Roman name, styled themselves the Agrippinian colony. Their cohorts, posted at a distance from the Rhine, and in that station thinking themselves secure, were surprised at the town of Marcodurum (*c*), and cut to pieces. The Ubians, in their turn, penetrated into Germany, and at first committed depredations with impunity, till, in the end, they were overpowered by superior numbers. Through the whole of the war their fidelity to Rome was unshaken, but a train of misfortunes was their only recompense. Flushed with success, and pleased with the defeat of the Ubians, Civilis pressed the siege of the old camp with the utmost vigour. His first care was to cut off all communication, that no intelligence of intended succours might reach the garrison. The management of the battering engines and other warlike preparations he left to the Batavians; and seeing that the forces from beyond the Rhine were eager for action, he ordered them to advance to the entrenchments, and by a sudden assault to force the works. They were repulsed, and by his order returned to the charge. In so numerous an army men might be sacrificed, and yet the loss not be felt.

XXIX. THE night afforded no pause from the attack. The Barbarians set fire to the clumps of wood, which they had ranged along the entrenchments, and betook themselves to feasting and revelry. Growing warm with liquor, they rushed with headlong fury to assault the works. Their darts were thrown at an enemy safe in obscurity, while the Romans were enabled by the glaring fires to view the scene of action, and take aim at the combatants, who made themselves conspicuous by their valour or the splendour of their arms. Civilis saw the disadvantage, and ordered the fires to be extinguished. Confusion, darkness, and wild uproar followed. Dissonant shouts were heard; random blows were given; chance directed, and none could see where to press or avoid the enemy. Where the noise was loudest, they faced about to that quarter, and discharged their weapons in the dark. Valour was undistinguished, and the bravest often fell by the hand of the coward. The Germans fought with the rage of madmen; the Romans with their usual discretion, like soldiers enured to danger. Their poles pointed with iron were never darted at random, nor did they discharge their massy stones without being sure of their effect. Whenever they heard the Barbarians sapping the foundation of the walls, or found their scaling-ladders applied to the ramparts, they made sure of their blow, and with their bucklers or their javelins drove the assailants headlong down the steep. Some gained the summit of the walls, and perished on the spot. The night passed in this manner, and the day brought on a new mode of attack.

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XXX. A TOWER, with two floors for the soldiers, had been constructed by the Barbarians. With this huge machine they now advanced against the works at the prætorian gate (*a*), the ground on that side of the camp being smooth and level. The Romans directed their strong beams and other instruments with



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so much force, that the whole structure was crushed to pieces, and the soldiers, who had been posted in the galleries, lay buried under the ruins. In that moment the besieged made a successfully. The legionary soldiers, in the mean time, framed with skill a number of new machines. One, in particular, struck the enemy with terror and amazement. This was so constructed (*b*), that an arm, projecting from the top, waved over the heads of the Barbarians, till, being suddenly let down, it caught hold of the combatants, and, springing back with sudden elasticity, carried them up in the air, in the view of the astonished Germans, and, turning round with rapidity, threw them headlong into the camp. Civilis found himself baffled in every attempt. He despaired of carrying the place by storm, and once more turned the siege into a close blockade; in the mean time tampering with the garrison, and, by false intelligence as well as ample promises, endeavouring to seduce the men from their duty.

XXXI. THE transactions, which we have here related, happened in Germany before the battle of Cremona (*a*). The first account of the victory at that place was sent by Antonius Primus, with Cæcina's proclamation annexed to his letters. The news was further confirmed by Alpinus Montanus, the commander of one of the vanquished cohorts, who, after the defeat, made the best of his way into Germany. By this event the minds of the Roman army were thrown into violent agitations. The auxiliaries from Gaul, a mercenary band, who neither loved one party nor hated the other, mere soldiers of fortune, without sentiment or principle, were soon persuaded by their officers to abandon the cause of Vitellius. The veteran soldiers remained for some time in suspense. Overruled at length by Hordeonius Flaccus, and importuned by the tribunes, they swore fidelity to Vespasian; but  
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with an air of reluctance, and a stern ferocity, that plainly shewed their hearts were not in unison with their words. In repeating the form of the oath, they faltered at the name of Vespasian, never pronouncing it distinctly, but muttering to themselves, and, in general, passing it over in silence.

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XXXII. A LETTER from Antonius to Civilis was read to a full assembly of the legions. The style, in which that active partisan was treated as a friend to the new emperor, while the legions were considered as enemies, excited a general indignation. An account of these transactions was soon after transmitted to the camp at Gelduba, where the same compliance, and the same discontents, prevailed. Montanus was deputed to Civilis; with instructions to require, that he would “lay down his arms, and cease  
“to varnish hostile intentions with the specious pretence of fight-  
“ing in the cause of Rome. If, in fact, he meant to serve Vespasian, that end was answered, and it was time to sheath the  
“sword.” To this message Civilis replied with guarded subtlety; but perceiving in Montanus an active genius, and a spirit of enterprise, he opened his mind without reserve. “I have served,” he said, “in the Roman armies for five-and-twenty years: in  
“that time I have encountered various perils; and what has been  
“my reward? I have seen the death of a brother; I have been  
“loaded with fetters; and I have heard the clamours of the  
“Roman army, with rage and violence demanding my blood.  
“If, in return, I seek the blood of my enemies, I stand justified by  
“the law of nations. As to you, ye Treverians, and you, ye  
“abject nations, who can tamely submit to a foreign master,  
“what do you expect will be the fruit of all your toil, and all  
“your blood lavished in the service of Rome? Endless warfare, eternal tributes, the lictor’s rod, the axe, and the wanton  
“cruelty of your imperious masters; those are the rewards that



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“ wait you. Behold in me the præfect of a single cohort ; behold  
 “ the Caninefates and the Batavian forces : they are but a mere  
 “ handful of men, a small portion of Gaul : and yet, what have  
 “ we not achieved ? That spacious camp, the proud display of  
 “ Roman labour, is, at this moment, tottering to its fall. If their  
 “ legions hold out, famine will devour them ; if famine forbears,  
 “ the sword must end them. In a word, by daring nobly, we  
 “ shall recover our liberty : if we fail, our condition cannot be  
 “ worse than it was before.” By this animated speech Civilis  
 roused the ambition of Montanus. He then dismissed him, with  
 directions to report his answer in milder terms. Montanus  
 obeyed his orders, content with reporting that he failed in his  
 negotiation. He suppressed the rest, but the whole broke out  
 afterwards with redoubled fury.

XXXIII. CIVILIS turned his attention to the motions of Vocula and his army. Having reserved for himself a sufficient force, he dispatched to Gelduba his veteran cohorts, and the bravest of the Germans, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor. The last was nephew to Civilis, being a sister's son. The two chiefs arrived at Asciburgium (*a*), and there stormed the winter-encampment of a squadron of horse. From that place they made a forced march, and fell with such unexpected fury on the camp at Gelduba, that Vocula had neither time to harangue his men, nor to form his line of battle. All he could do, was to order the legionary soldiers to draw up in the centre. The auxiliaries, in a tumultuary manner, ranged themselves in the wings. The cavalry advanced to the attack ; but making no impression on the well embodied ranks of the Germans, they soon gave ground, and fled with precipitation. From that moment, it was a scene of slaughter, not a battle. The Nervians quitted their post through fear or treachery, and, by their flight, left the flank  
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of the Romans open to the enemy. The Barbarians, following their advantage, penetrated to the centre. They drove the legions into their entrenchments; they seized their standards, and made a dreadful carnage. But a reinforcement coming up in time, the fortune of the day was changed. The Gascon cohorts (*b*), formerly levied by Galba, had received orders to join the army. Hearing, as they approached the camp, the din of arms, and the uproar of battle, they advanced to the attack, and charged the Batavians in the rear. The terror that seized the enemy, was greater than could be expected from so small a number. Some imagined, that succours arrived from Novesium; others thought of nothing less than the whole army from Magontiacum. The mistake revived the drooping courage of the Romans. Depending on the valour of others, they began to exert their own. The Batavian infantry was put to the rout. Their cavalry escaped, and carried with them the prisoners and standards, which they had taken in the beginning of the action. The number slain on the part of the Romans greatly exceeded the loss of the enemy; but the slaughter fell on the worst of their troops, whereas the Germans lost the flower of their army.

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XXXIV. THE commanders on both sides were equally in fault. By their misconduct they deserved the check they met with; and, when fortune favoured their arms, neither of them knew how to improve his advantage. Had Civilis sent into the field a stronger force, it is evident that his men could not have been hemmed in by so small a number. Having forced the entrenchments, he might have razed them to the ground. On the other hand, Vocola had sent out no scouts to watch the motions of the enemy. Taken by surprise, he marched out of his camp, and was defeated. Having afterwards gained a victory, he made no use of it, but lost several days, before he made a forward



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ward movement. Had he pursued his advantage, and given the enemy no time to rest, one vigorous effort would have raised the siege of the camp. Civilis exerted every effort, determined to profit by the inactivity of the Roman general. He endeavoured, by his messengers, to shake the firmness of the garrison; he represented the forces under Vocula, as entirely overthrown; he boasted of a complete victory; he displayed the banners taken from the enemy, and, with ostentation, made a shew of the prisoners. The spirit, with which one of them behaved, deserves to be recorded. With a clear and audible voice, he called out to the besieged, and told them the event of the late battle. For this gallant action, he was butchered on the spot. That act of vengeance gave credit to his story. The besieged, at the same time, saw the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waste on every side. This announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in the sight of the camp, and, having erected his standards, ordered a fosse to be made, and a palisade to be thrown up, that, the baggage being safely deposited, he might offer battle with greater security. The soldiers thought it loss of time: they desired to be led on to the attack; and, according to custom, threats of vengeance resounded through the army. No order of battle was formed. Fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confusion, they rushed on with impetuous fury. Civilis was in force, and ready to receive them. He relied no less on the vices of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with various turns of fortune. The bold and forward in sedition, were cowards in the field. A sense of honour prevailed with some. They remembered their late exploits, and, flushed with victory, maintained their post; they attacked the Barbarians, and by deeds of valour roused the spirit of their comrades. Having restored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, they waved their hands to

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the besieged, inviting them to sally out, and use their opportunity. The legions from their ramparts saw the scene of action, and rushed out at every gate. An accident disconcerted Civilis. His horse fell under him. A report that he was slain, or dangerously wounded, ran through both armies. Consternation covered the Batavian ranks, and joy inspired the Romans with new ardour.

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XXXV. VOCULA did not think fit to harass the barbarians in their retreat. Instead of hanging on their rear, he amused himself with repairing the works of the camp, as if he expected a second siege. The consequence was, that he who so often neglected to make use of his victory, was thought no enemy to a lingering war. The scarcity of provisions was what chiefly distressed the Roman army. To remedy the evil, Vocula sent off all his useless people, with the waggons, as far as Novesium, with intent that, by the return of the same convoy, a supply of corn might be brought to the camp. The conveyance by land was necessary, as the enemy were masters of the river. The first attempt succeeded, Civilis not having then recovered his strength. Being informed soon after that a second party was on the way to Novesium, with a few cohorts marching in all the negligence of a profound peace, their colours and standards thinly guarded, their arms laid up in the waggons, and the men scattered in loose disorder, he resolved to attack them by surprise. Having first secured the bridges over the river, and the defiles of the country, he advanced in order of battle. The Romans, though their lines were stretched to a vast length, made a brave resistance, till night put an end to the conflict. The Cohorts arrived at Gelduba, and found the entrenchments and the garrison in good condition. The difficulty of returning, after this check, to the old camp was now too apparent. Vocula resolved to march to their assistance. For this



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purpose he drafted from the fifth and fifteenth legions a thousand chosen men, who had stood the siege in the old camp, and were distinguished by their rancorous animosity to their commanding officers. These he added to his army. A number of others, without orders, thought fit to follow, declaring aloud, that they would neither bear the distress of famine, nor the treachery of their chiefs. Among those who remained behind, the spirit of discontent was no less violent. They complained, that, by drawing off a part, the whole was weakened. Hence two seditions raged at the same time; one demanding the return of Vocula, and the other resolved never again to enter the camp.

XXXVI. CIVILIS, in the mean time, returned to the siege. Vocula retired to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium. Civilis took possession of Gelduba, and soon after, in an engagement of the cavalry, near Novesium, gained a victory. All events, whether prosperous or otherwise, were now alike to the Romans, incensed, on every occasion, against their general officers. Being reinforced by the detachment from the fifth and fifteenth legions, they grew more outrageous than ever; and having gained intelligence, that a sum of money was sent by Vitellius, they clamoured loudly for the immediate discharge of their donative. Hordeonius Flaccus complied without hesitation, but in the name of Vespasian. By this step the flame of sedition was kindled to a blaze. The men betook themselves to feasts and revelling; they caroused during the night, and, in their liquor, their old antipathy to Flaccus revived with all its virulence. They rushed to his tent; the darkness of the night served to muffle their horrible design, and no sense of shame remained. Neither tribune nor centurion dared to interpose. They dragged their general out of his bed, and murdered him on the spot. The same catastrophe was prepared for Vocula; but that officer, in the disguise  
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of a slave, made his escape. The fury of the mutineers began to relent: fear succeeded to rage; they dreaded the consequences, and, in their distress, dispatched some of the centurions, with letters to the states of Gaul, requesting a supply of men and money.

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XXXVII. BEING left without a leader, they were no better than a senseless multitude, bold and wavering, rash and cowardly by turns. Civilis advanced to offer battle; they seized their arms, they laid them down, and betook themselves to flight. Even in distress they could not act with a spirit of union; they quarrelled among themselves, and the soldiers from the Upper Rhine abandoned the common cause. The images of Vitellius were, notwithstanding, set up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities; but Vitellius was then no more (*a*). The soldiers of the first, the fourth, and the eighteenth legions, returning to a sense of their duty, put themselves under the command of Vocola, and having, by his direction, taken the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, marched to raise the siege of Magontiacum. A motley army of the Cattians (*b*), the Usipians, and the Mattiaci had invested the place; but, on the approach of the Romans, they decamped with a load of booty. The legions fell in with their straggling parties, and put a great number to the sword. The Treverians had sunk a fence and raised a palisade, to defend the frontier of their country against the inroads of the Germans, whom they attacked with alternate success, and no small effusion of blood. In the end, they deserted from the Romans, and, by their perfidy, sullied the lustre of all their former services.

XXXVIII. MEANWHILE, Vespasian and his son Titus, though both absent from Rome, entered on the year of their joint consulship. A melancholy gloom hung over the city. The minds of men were distracted with different apprehensions, and to their na-

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tural fears imagination added a train of groundless terrors. It was supposed that Africa (*a*), at the instigation of Lucius Piso, was in open rebellion. Piso was, at that time, governor of the province; but the love of innovation made no part of his character. It happened that the roughness of the winter interrupted the navigation, and, the corn ships not arriving regularly, the populace, who have never more than one day's provision, dreaded an approaching famine. Of all that concerns the public, the price of grain is their only care (*b*). Their fear, at present, was, that, to cut off supplies from Rome, the coast of Africa was guarded; and what they feared, they easily believed. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the spirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report. Even the conquerors did not dislike the news. Convulsions of the state were not unwelcome to men of their description, whose avarice no foreign conquest could appease, and no civil war could satisfy.

XXXIX. ON the calends of January, the senate, convened by Julius Frontinus (*a*), the city prætor, passed a vote of thanks to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as soon as the men declared for Vespasian, was, for that offence, deprived of the prætorship. Plotius Griphus succeeded to the office. Hormus was raised to the equestrian rank. Upon the voluntary abdication of Frontinus, Domitian, who had the additional title of Cæsar, assumed the dignity of city-prætor. From that time, all edicts and public instruments were issued in his name; but the authority of government still centered in Mucianus, though sometimes counteracted by Domitian. That young prince, encouraged by his friends, or spurred on by his own ambition, by fits and starts assumed the character of first minister. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the persons whom

Mucianus.

Mucianus viewed with a jealous eye. They were both recent from the field of glory; both covered with laurels, idolized by the army; and, as all the blood they had spilt was in the field of battle, they were both respected by the populace. Antonius, it was confidently said, had invited Scribonianus Craffus (*b*) to the head of the commonwealth. Craffus was descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and derived additional lustre from his brother, whom Galba made, by adoption, heir apparent of the empire. Thus distinguished, he would not have wanted partisans; but he was deaf to all temptation. A man of his way of thinking, who would have refused himself to a party already formed, was not to be dazzled by a distant and uncertain prospect. Mucianus found that he had, in the person of Antonius, a powerful rival. To ruin him by open hostility were a dangerous attempt. He resolved to act by stratagem, and accordingly, in the senate, grew lavish in his praise. He amused him in private with splendid promises; he offered him the government of the nethermost Spain, then vacant by the absence of Cluvius Rufus, and bestowed favours on his friends, assigning to some the rank of præfect, and raising others to military honours. He flattered the ambition of Antonius, and was, at the same time, at work to undermine him. He sent the seventh legion, known to be devoted to his rival, into winter-quarters. The third was in the interest of Arrius Varus, and for that reason sent into Syria. Part of the army was ordered back to Germany; and, the seeds of tumult and sedition being in this manner removed, the city began to resume its ancient form: the laws revived, and the magistrates discharged the functions of their office.

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XL. DOMITIAN, on the day of his first appearance in the senate, lamented, in a short speech, the absence of his father and his brother Titus. Of himself he spoke with becoming diffidence. His  
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deportment was graceful, and his manner interesting. The vices of his heart being then unknown, the blush of youth was considered as the mark of an ingenuous mind. He proposed that the name of Galba should be revived with all the honours due to his memory. Curtius Montanus added to the motion the name of Piso. A decree was passed accordingly, but as far as it related to Piso never executed. A number of commissioners were drawn by lot; some with power to restore to the lawful owners the property wrested from them during the violence of civil war; others, to inspect the tables of brass, on which the laws were engraved, and to repair such as were defaced by the injuries of time; to examine the public registers, and erase the expressions of servile adulation (*a*), with which at different periods they were all contaminated; and finally, to set due limits to the public expenditure. Tertius Julianus, it now appeared, fled from his legion, to join the banners of Vespasian, and thereupon the prætorian dignity was restored to him; but the honours of that rank were by a decree confirmed to Griphus. The prosecution commenced by Mufonius Rufus (*b*) against Publius Celer was resumed, and brought to a hearing. Celer was convicted, and by the sentence of condemnation he made atonement to the manes of Soranus. This act of justice was honourable to the fathers, and not less so to Mufonius. Men applauded the constancy with which he vindicated the memory of his friend. Nothing could equal his glory, except the infamy that attended Demetrius (*c*), a professor of the cynic philosophy, who, with more ambition than virtue, employed his eloquence in the cause of a notorious criminal, who, in the hour of danger, had neither courage nor ability to defend himself. The event gave the signal for a general attack on the whole race of informers; and, accordingly, Junius Mauricus (*d*) moved for an order to lay the journals of the late emperors before the senate, that in those records it might be seen, who were the men

men of a persecuting spirit, and against whom their malice had been levelled. Domitian was of opinion, that, in a matter of such magnitude, the emperor ought to be consulted.

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XLI. THE senate, on the motion of some of the leading members, devised a new form of oath, by which they called the gods to witness, that no man by any act of theirs had been aggrieved, and that they themselves had derived no kind of advantage from the calamity of the times. The magistrates took this oath with the most ready compliance; and the fathers, in regular succession, followed their example. Some, whom their conscience reproached in secret, endeavoured, by various subtleties, to weaken, or to vary the form of the words. The remorse of scrupulous minds the fathers approved, but equivocal swearing they condemned as perjury. That judgment, delivered by the highest authority, fell with weight upon Satriolenus Vocula, Nonius Aetianus, and Cestius Severus, three notorious informers in the reign of Nero. The first of these offenders added to his former practices the recent guilt of attempting the same iniquity under Vitellius. The fathers, fired with indignation, threatened to lay violent hands on him, and never desisted till they forced him to withdraw from the senate house. Pactus Africanus was the next object of resentment. It was he, they said, who made Nero sacrifice to his cruelty the two Scribonii (*a*), those excellent brothers, not more distinguished by the splendour of their fortunes, than by their affection for each other. The miscreant had not the contumacy to avow the fact, and to deny it was not in his power. He turned short upon Vibius Crispus (*b*), who pressed him with pointed questions; and, since he could not justify his own conduct, he contrived, by blending it with the guilt of his accuser, to soften resentment against himself.



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XLII. IN the debates of that day, Vipstanius Messala, though a young man, not yet of senatorian age (*a*), gained immortal honour, not only by his eloquence, but for natural affection and the goodness of his heart. He had the spirit to stand forth for his brother, Aquilius Regulus (*b*), and to implore, in his behalf, the lenity of the fathers. By the ruin of the ancient family of the Crassi, and the illustrious house of Orphitus (*c*), Regulus had drawn upon himself the public detestation. Of his own motion he undertook the prosecution against those eminent citizens. He had no motives of fear, no danger to ward off from himself. The early genius of the man made him an informer from his youth; and by the destruction of others he hoped to open his road to honours. His brother, notwithstanding, interceded for him; but, on the other hand, Sulpicia Prætextata, the widow of Crassus, with her four fatherless children, attended the senate, ready, if the cause came to a hearing, to demand the vengeance due to his crimes. Messala did not enter into the merits of the cause. Without attempting to make a defence, he sued for mercy, and succeeded so well, that many of the fathers were softened in his favour. To counteract that impression, Curtius Montanus (*d*) rose, and, in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, went so far as to charge, in direct terms, that Regulus, as soon as Galba was dispatched, gave a purse of money to the ruffian that murdered Piso, and, throwing himself on the body, with unheard-of malice, gnawed the head with his teeth. “This,” he said, “was an act of barbarity not imputable to Nero. Did that tyrant order it, or, did you, Regulus, advance your dignity by that atrocious deed? Did your personal safety require it? Let us, if you will, admit, in some cases, the plea of necessity: let those, who, to save themselves, accomplish the ruin of others, be allowed, by such excuses, to extenuate their guilt. You, Regulus, have not that apology: after the banishment of your father, and the confisca-

“ tion of his effects, you lived secure, beyond the reach of dan-  
 “ ger. Excluded by your youth from public honours, you had  
 “ no possessions to tempt the avarice of Nero; no rising merit to  
 “ alarm his jealousy. A rage for blood, early ambition, and avarice  
 “ panting for the wages of guilt, were the motives that urged  
 “ you on. Unknown at the bar, and never so much as seen in  
 “ the defence of any man, you came upon mankind with talents  
 “ for destruction. The first specimen of your genius was the  
 “ murder of illustrious citizens. The commonwealth was re-  
 “ duced to the last gasp, and that was the crisis, in which you  
 “ plundered the remaining spoils of your country. You seized  
 “ the consular ornaments, and, having amassed enormous riches,  
 “ swelled your pride with the pontifical dignities. Innocent chil-  
 “ dren, old men of the first eminence, and women of illustrious  
 “ rank, have been your victims. It was from you that Nero  
 “ learned a system of compendious cruelty. The slow progress,  
 “ with which he carried slaughter from house to house, did not  
 “ satisfy your thirst for blood. The emperor, according to your  
 “ doctrine, fatigued himself and his band of harpies, by destroy-  
 “ ing single families at a time, when it was in his power, by his  
 “ bare word, to sweep away the whole senate to destruction.  
 “ Retain amongst you, conscript fathers, if such be your pleasure,  
 “ retain this son of mischief, this man of dispatch, that the age  
 “ may have its own distinctive character, and send down to  
 “ posterity a model for imitation. Marcellus and Crispus gave  
 “ lessons of villany to your fathers: let Regulus instruct the rising  
 “ generation. We see, that daring iniquity, even when unsuccess-  
 “ ful, has its followers: when it thrives and flourishes, will it want  
 “ admirers? We have before us a man, no higher at present than the  
 “ rank of quæstor; and if we are now afraid of proceeding against  
 “ him, what think you will be the case, when we see him exalted  
 “ to the prætorian and the consular dignity? Do we flatter our-  
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“ selves, that the race of tyrants ended with Nero? The men,  
 “ who survived Tiberius, reasoned in that manner; after the  
 “ death of Caligula, they said the same; but another master suc-  
 “ ceeded, more cruel, and more detestable. From Vespasian  
 “ we have nothing to fear. He is at the time of life, when the  
 “ passions subside; the virtues of moderation and humanity are  
 “ his: but virtue operates slowly, while pernicious examples  
 “ remain in force, and teach a system of cruelty, when the  
 “ tyrant is no more. As to us, conscript fathers, we have lost  
 “ all our vigour: we are no longer the senate, that condemned  
 “ Nero to death, and in the spirit of ancient times called aloud  
 “ for vengeance on the ministers and advisers of that evil period.  
 “ The day that succeeds the downfall of a tyrant is always the best.”

XLIII. THIS speech was heard with such marks of general approbation, that Helvidius Priscus, taking advantage of the temper of the fathers, thought it a fair opportunity to have his full blow at Eprius Marcellus. He began with an encomium on the character of Cluvius Rufus; a man of wealth, and distinguished eloquence, yet never known, through the whole reign of Nero, to have employed his talents against the life or fortune of any person whatever. As a contrast to this bright example, he painted forth, in glaring colours, the flagitious practices of Marcellus. The fathers heard the charge with indignation. Marcellus saw the temper of the assembly, and rising in his place, addressed himself to Helvidius. “I withdraw,” he said, “and leave you to give your laws to the senate. Preside if you will, and, even in the presence of the emperor’s son, usurp the supreme authority.” He spoke, and quitted his seat. Vibius Crispus followed him; both enraged, but with different passions in their looks; Marcellus with eyes that darted fire; Crispus, with a malignant smile. Their friends prevailed on them to return to  
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their places. The whole assembly was in a flame. The men of integrity were on one side, and formed the largest party: the opposite faction were few in number, but they had weight and influence. A violent contest followed, and ended in nothing. The day was lost in altercation.

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XLIV. AT the next meeting of the senate. Domitian proposed a general amnesty, in order to bury in oblivion all complaints, all resentments, and all the grievances of former times. Mucianus went at large into the case of the informers, and, in a tone of mild persuasion, entreated such, as wanted to revive dormant prosecutions, to desist from their purpose. The fathers had hitherto entertained hopes of recovering the independant exercise of their rights; but the present opposition convinced them, that liberty was not to be favoured. Mucianus apprehending, that, by this check, a blow might appear to be given to the authority of the senate, and that, by consequence, impunity would be claimed by all the delinquents of Nero's time, remanded to the islands, to which they had been banished, Octavius Sagitta, and Antistius Sofianus, both of senatorian rank. The former had lived in a course of adultery with(*a*) Pontia Posthumia; and not being able to prevail on her to marry him, in the fury of disappointed love, murdered the woman whom he adored. Sofianus (*b*) by his evil practices had been the ruin of numbers. Both had been condemned by a solemn decree of the senate; and though, in other instances, similar judgments had been remitted, against these two offenders the law was enforced with rigour. Mucianus expected that these measures would soften prejudice, and conciliate the public favour; but his plan did not succeed. Sofianus and Sagitta might have been allowed to remain at Rome without any disadvantage to the public. They were men despised, and must have lived in obscurity. The grievance, under which



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the people laboured, arose from the encouragement given to the tribe of informers. The talents, the riches, and the influence of that pernicious crew, spread a general terror through the city.

XLV. A CAUSE, which was soon after brought forward, and heard in due form, according to ancient usage, contributed, in some degree, to calm the discontents of the senate. A complaint was made to that assembly, by Manlius Patritius, a member of their body, that, at a meeting of the people in the colony of the Senenfians (*a*), he was assaulted, and even struck, by order of the magistrates. Nor did the injury stop there: they buried him in effigy in his own presence, compelling him not only to be a spectator of the scene, but to bear the insulting mockery of funeral lamentations, to see the images of his ancestors carried in a ludicrous procession, and to hear a torrent of opprobrious language thrown out against the senate. The parties accused were cited to appear. The cause was heard, and the guilty suffered condign punishment. The fathers added a decree, by which the people of the colony were required to be more observant of decency and good order. About the same time, Antonius Flamma, at the suit of the inhabitants of Cyrene, was convicted of extortion, and, his case being aggravated by acts of cruelty, the fathers ordered him into banishment.

XLVI. DURING these transactions, a violent uproar broke out in the camp, and almost rose to open sedition. The soldiers, disbanded by Vitellius, and afterwards embodied in the service of Vespasian, claimed a right to their former rank in the prætorian guards. At the same time, a number of others, who had been drafted from the legions, under a promise of being promoted to that station, demanded their right, and the pay annexed to it. In this dilemma another difficulty occurred. The soldiers, who had

had been retained in the army by Vitellius, could not be dismissed without great hazard, and even bloodshed. Mucianus entered the camp. In order to ascertain the period of time, during which they all had carried arms, he directed that the victorious troops, leaving proper distances between the respective companies, should be drawn up under arms, with all their military ornaments. The Vitellians, who, as has been mentioned, surrendered at Bovillæ, together with all the stragglers that could be found either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, advanced forward in one collected body. Nothing could be more wretched than their appearance; all in a ragged condition, and almost naked. Such of them as came from Britain, from Germany, or any other province, had orders to range themselves in separate divisions. The field presented an awful spectacle. The Vitellians saw before them the victors in the late battle, arrayed in terror, and brandishing their arms. They looked around, and found themselves inclosed, in a defenceless state, displaying their nakedness and deformity. Being ordered to remove to different parts of the field, they were seized with a general panic. The Germans, in particular, thought themselves led forth to slaughter; they embraced their comrades; they hung about their necks; and, with prayers and tears, implored their fellow-soldiers not to desert them in the last distress. Their cause, they said, was common, and why should their fate be different from the rest? They appealed to Mucianus; they invoked the absent prince; they offered up their supplications to the gods. Mucianus appeased their fears: he told them, they were all fellow-soldiers in the service of the same prince, all bound by the common obligation of the same military oath. The victors were touched with sympathy, and, by their acclamations, shewed that they felt for the unhappy. Nothing further happened on that day. In a short time afterwards, Domitian addressed them in a public harangue.

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rangue. The men had recovered their courage. They listened to the young prince with an air of confidence, firm and intrepid. Domitian proposed an allotment of lands : they refused the offer, desiring to continue in the service, and receive the arrears of their pay. They made their request in an humble style ; but the request was in the nature of a demand, not to be resisted. They were all incorporated with the prætorian guards. The superannuated, and such as had served out their time, were discharged with honour from the service. Some were cashiered for misbehaviour, but by slow degrees, and without disgrace. They were weeded out man by man ; a sure expedient to prevent cabals and factions in the army.

XLVII. THE poverty of the public treasury, real, or, for political reasons, pretended, was brought forward in the senate. A scheme was proposed for raising, by a loan from private persons, the sum of six hundred thousand sesterces. The management of the business was committed to Poppæus Silvanus ; but the project was soon after dropt, the plea of necessity ceasing, or the motives for dissimulation being removed. A law was proposed by Domitian, and enacted by the senate, by which the several successions to the consulship, as they stood appointed by Vitellius, were declared null and void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus (*a*) was performed with all the pomp annexed to the censorian dignity ; a striking instance of the caprice of fortune, which like the tempest, mixing the highest and the lowest in wild confusion, sunk Sabinus to the depth of misery, and, after his death, raised him to unavailing honours.

XLVIII. ABOUT this time, Lucius Piso, the proconsul, was murdered. The particulars of that tragic event I shall relate with the fidelity of an historian ; and if I go back to trace the  
origin

origin and progress of all such atrocious deeds, the enquiry will not be without its use. By the policy of Augustus, and, afterwards, by the same system continued under Tiberius, the legion quartered in Africa, together with the auxiliaries employed to defend the frontier of the province, obeyed the sole authority of the proconsul. The wild and turbulent genius of Caligula changed that arrangement. Suspecting Marcus Silanus, then governor of Africa, he transferred the command of the legion to an imperial lieutenant, whom he sent into Africa for the purpose. By that measure, the power of granting military preferment was divided between two rivals: a struggle for pre-eminence soon took place; their orders clashed; strife and emulation followed, and passions on both sides inflamed the dispute. In process of time, the imperial lieutenant gained the ascendant. His continual residence on the spot gave him the advantage, and, as is usual in subordinate stations, the second in authority was the most eager to grasp at power. The proconsuls, conscious of their own dignity, despised the little arts of aggrandizing themselves. They took care to act with circumspection, and, content with personal safety, formed no schemes of ambition.

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XLIX. DURING Piso's administration in Africa, Valerius Festus had the command of the legion; a young man of unbounded expence; a voluptuous prodigal, and an aspiring genius. He was nearly allied to Vitellius, and that circumstance filled him with disquietude. Whether it be true, that, in private conferences, he endeavoured to incite Piso to a revolt, or, on the other hand, that, being himself solicited, he withstood the temptation, must remain uncertain. No man was admitted into their secrets. After the death of Piso, the public was disposed to think favourably even of the murderer. The natives of the province, as well as the soldiers, were disaffected to Vespasian. It is likewise cer-  
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tain, that the partisans of Vitellius, who escaped from Rome, endeavoured to fire the ambition of Piso. They represented Gaul on the eve of a revolt, and the Germans ready to take up arms; they stated the dangerous situation in which Piso stood, and open war, they said, was preferable to a dangerous peace. In that juncture, Claudius Sagitta, who commanded the squadron of horse, called PETRINA, arrived in Africa. Favoured with a quick passage, he got the start of Papirius, a centurion, dispatched by Mucianus, with secret instructions, as Sagitta affirmed, to assassinate Piso. He added, that Galerianus, the proconsul's near relation, and also his son-in-law, had already met his fate. For the proconsul himself, there remained nothing but a bold and daring enterprise. For this purpose, two schemes presented themselves; one, by calling forth the province under arms; the other, by passing over into Gaul, there to shew himself at the head of the Vitellian party. Piso remained deaf to these remonstrances. In the mean time, the centurion, sent by Mucianus, arrived in Africa. He landed at Carthage, and no sooner entered that city, than he proclaimed, with an air of joy, that Piso's affairs were in a prosperous train, and that the imperial dignity was already his. The people stood astonished at a revolution so unexpected. The centurion desired them to spread the news, with shouts and demonstrations of joy, and, accordingly, the credulous multitude rushed to the forum, calling aloud on Piso to make his appearance. The city rung with acclamations. About the truth no man enquired; all pressed forward to pay their court to the new emperor. Piso, in the mean time, alarmed by the evidence of Sagitta, or, perhaps, restrained by his own native modesty, resolved not to stir from his house. He examined the centurion, and finding, that the whole was a snare to involve him in a rash attempt, and thereby give a colour to the intended murder, he ordered the ruffian to be put to death; not imagining, that,

that, by that vindictive measure, he could save his own life, but because he saw with indignation the assassin of Clodius Macer, ready to imbrue his hands in the blood of the proconsul. Having made this sacrifice to justice, he issued a proclamation, in strong terms condemning the rash behaviour of the Carthaginians. From that moment, renouncing all the duties of his station, he confined himself to his own house, determined, that nothing on his part should be the occasion of new disturbances.

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L. FESTUS was duly apprised of all that passed. The excesses committed by the populace, the death of the centurion, and other reports, magnified, as usual, by the voice of fame, determined him to cut off the proconsul without delay. He dispatched a party of horse to perpetrate the deed. The assassins made a rapid march in the night, and at the dawn of day rushed, sword in hand, into Piso's house. Being men picked for the purpose from the Carthaginian, or the Moorish auxiliaries, they did not so much as know the person whom they intended to murder. Near his chamber door they met one of the slaves, and sternly asked him, Who are you? and where is Piso? With a generous and splendid falsehood, the man replied, "I am Piso." He was butchered on the spot. Piso in a short time after met his fate. It happened that he was known to one of the ruffians, by name Bebius Massa (*a*), an imperial procurator in Africa, even then the avowed enemy of every worthy character, and, in the miseries that followed, an actor frequently to appear in scenes of blood and cruelty. Meanwhile, Festus remained at Adrumetum (*b*), waiting for the issue of the business. Having received intelligence, he proceeded to the legion, and there ordered Cetronius Pifanus, the præfect of the camp, to be loaded with fetters. His motive for this proceeding was a personal grudge, disguised, however, under a pretended charge, that the prisoner was the friend and



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partisan of Piso. He punished some of the soldiers, and rewarded others, with no good reason for either, but purely to give himself the important air of having crushed a civil war. A quarrel subsisted between the *Æenians* (*c*) and the people of Leptis; but by the interposition of Festus the dispute was compromised. Those cities complained of depredations committed in their respective territories, and both were preparing to hazard a battle. The *Æenians* were, in fact, inferior in number to their adversaries; but they had formed a league with the *Garamantes*, a fierce and savage race, that lived altogether by plunder, and, by consequence, the people of Leptis were reduced to the last extremity. They saw their lands laid waste, and were obliged to take shelter in their fortified towns, till the Roman cohorts and cavalry advanced to their relief. The *Garamantes* abandoned the siege, leaving behind them the whole of their booty, except what some of their flying parties had conveyed to their huts in the midst of deserts, or sold to the inhabitants of distant regions.

LI. VESPASIAN, at this time, had received intelligence of the victory at Cremona, and the success of his arms in every quarter. The death of Vitellius was announced to him by men of rank and condition, who had the spirit, in that rough season of the year, to undertake a voyage, in order to be the first to communicate that important event. Vologeses, the Parthian king, offered by his ambassadors to assist him with forty thousand of his cavalry. Nothing could be more glorious than the situation in which Vespasian stood: the allies paid their court, and he was in no need of their assistance. He returned thanks to Vologeses, desiring, at the same time, since the peace of the empire was now established, that he would send ambassadors to the senate. Vespasian now began to turn his thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome. The accounts, which he received concerning his son Domitian,

Domitian, were by no means favourable. The young prince was said to assume beyond his years, and to tower above the rank even of the emperor's son. For the present, Vespasian thought fit to place his son Titus at the head of the army, and leave him to carry on the war against the Jews.

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LII. TITUS, we are told, before he set out to take upon him the command, used his best influence to mitigate his father in favour of Domitian. “The tales,” he said, “of insidious whisperers  
“ought not to be regarded: a son may fairly claim a right to be  
“heard in his defence, nor should a father harbour prejudices  
“against him. Fleets and armies are not always the strongest bul-  
“warks: the best resources of the sovereign are in his own family.  
“Friends moulder away; time changes the affections of men;  
“views of interest form new connections; the passions fluctuate;  
“desires arise that cannot be gratified; misunderstandings follow,  
“and friendships are transferred to others; but the ties of blood  
“still remain in force, and in that bond of union consists the  
“security of the emperor. In his prosperity numbers participate;  
“in the day of trouble, who, except his relations, takes a share  
“in his misfortunes? Even between brothers, concord and una-  
“nimity are seldom lasting; and how should it be otherwise, if  
“the father ceases to give a laudable example?”

Vespasian listened to these remonstrances, charmed with the amiable disposition of his son, yet not reconciled to Domitian. He desired Titus to banish all anxiety, and proceed, with a mind firm and erect, in the great work of enlarging the dominion and the glory of the empire. For himself, it should be his business to improve the arts of peace, and secure the welfare of his family. Vespasian's next care was to provide a supply of grain for the city of Rome. He ordered a number of swift-sailing vessels to



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be loaded with corn, and, though it was still the tempestuous season of the year, to put to sea without delay. Rome, in that juncture, was reduced to an alarming situation, not having in the public granaries, when the fleet arrived, more than ten days provision.

LIII. THE care of rebuilding the capitol was committed to Lucius Vestinus (*a*), a man no higher than the equestrian rank, but in credit and dignity of character equal to the first men in Rome. Under his direction the soothsayers were convened. Their advice was, that the ruins of the former temple should be removed to the marshes, and that the new structure should be raised on the old foundation ; for the gods would not permit a change of the ancient form. On the eleventh day before the calends of July, the sky being remarkably serene, the ground assigned for the foundation was encompassed with ribbons and chaplets of flowers. Such of the soldiers, as had names of auspicious import (*b*), entered within the inclosure, bearing in their hands branches from the favourite trees of the gods. The vestal virgins followed in procession, with a band of boys and girls, whose parents, male and female, were still living. They sprinkled the place with water drawn from three clear fountains, and three rivers. Helvidius Priscus, the prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus, the pontiff, sacrificed a swine, a sheep, and a bull ; and, having spread the entrails upon the green turf, invoked Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, praying of them, and all the tutelar deities of Rome, that they would favour the undertaking, and, with their divine assistance, carry to perfection a work begun and consecrated by the piety of man.

After this solemn prayer, Helvidius laid his hand upon the fillets that adorned the foundation stone, and also the cords by

which it was to be drawn to its place. In that instant, the magistrates, the priests, the senators, the Roman knights, and a number of citizens, all acting with one effort, and general demonstrations of joy, laid hold of the ropes, and dragged the ponderous load to its destined spot. They then threw in ingots of gold and silver, and other metals, which had never been melted in the furnace, but still retained, untouched by human art, their first formation in the bowels of the earth. The foot-layers had directed, that neither stone nor gold, which had been applied to other uses, should profane any part of the building. The walls were raised higher than before. Religion allowed no other alteration. To the magnificence of the former structure (*c*) nothing but elevation could be added, and that, in a place designed for the reception of prodigious multitudes, was allowed to be necessary.

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LIV. MEANWHILE, the news of Vitellius's death spreading through Gaul and Germany, gave rise to two wars at once. Civilis, no longer managing appearances, declared open hostility against the Romans; and the Vitellian soldiers, rather than acknowledge Vespasian, were ready to submit to slavery under a foreign yoke. The Gauls began to breathe new life and vigour, persuaded that the Roman armies, wherever stationed, were broken and dispirited. A rumour was current among them, and universally believed, that the Dacians and Sarmatians had laid siege to the encampments in Mæsia and Pannonia. Affairs in Britain were supposed to be in no better situation. Above all, the destruction of the capitol announced the approaching fate of the Roman empire. The Druids (*a*), in their wild enthusiasm, sung their oracular songs, in which they taught, that, when Rome was formerly sacked by the Gauls, the mansion of Jupiter being left entire, the commonwealth survived that dreadful shock; but the



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the calamity of fire, which had lately happened, was a denunciation from heaven, in consequence of which, power and dominion were to circulate round the world, and the nations on their side of the Alps were in their turn to become masters of the world. A report prevailed, at the same time, that the chieftains of Gaul, who had been employed by Otho against Vitellius, bound themselves by a solemn league, if the civil dissensions of Rome continued, to watch their opportunity, and by one brave effort recover their natural independance.

LV. BEFORE the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, this confederacy was a profound secret. That tragic event no sooner happened, than a negociation took place between Civilis and Claſſicus, who commanded a squadron of Treverian horse, and was, at that time, a leading chief among the Gauls, in fame and wealth surpassing the rest of his countrymen. He derived his origin from a royal line ; a race of men, who had made themselves famous for the wisdom of their counsels, and their courage in the field. Thus descended, Claſſicus made it his boast, that he was the hereditary enemy, not the ally of Rome. His plot was strengthened by the accession of Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus ; the former, a Treverian ; the latter, one of the Lingones. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to a command on the banks of the Rhine. Sabinus to his natural vanity united the pride, however ill-founded, of an illustrious descent. He pretended, that his great grandmother attracted the regard of Julius Cæsar, during his wars in Germany, and from that embrace he deduced his pedigree.

The conspirators made it their business, in secret conferences, to sound the temper of others ; and, having drawn into their plot a number of accomplices, held a general meeting in the  
Agrip-

Agrippinian colony. A private house was their scene of action. In that city the public mind abhorred all dangerous conspiracies. There were, notwithstanding, some of the inhabitants, and a party of Tungrians (*a*), present at the meeting; but the Treverians and Lingones gave life and vigour to the cause. Men of their spirit thought they lost their time in debate. They broke out at once, declaring with vehemence, “ That Rome was brought, “ by the madness of her own intestine divisions, to the brink of “ ruin; her armies were cut to pieces; Italy was laid waste, “ and the city taken by storm. In other parts of the empire “ the legions have different wars upon their hands; what then “ remains but to take possession of the Alps? Secure the passes “ over those mountains, and Gaul will not only recover her “ liberty, but establish an independant empire. She may then “ deliberate where to fix the extent and boundaries of her own “ dominions.”

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LVI. THIS great and daring project was approved as soon as heard. How to dispose of the remaining Vitellian soldiers was the next consideration. A general massacre was proposed. All agreed, that men of their description, seditious, turbulent, void of principle, the murderers of their superior officers, deserved no quarter. And yet there were political reasons for extending mercy: “ The Vitellians might be roused to an act of “ brave despair. It were better to entice them into the confederacy. Let their officers bleed, and, after that sacrifice, the “ common men, conscious of their crimes, yet entertaining hopes “ of impunity, would be ready to join in any great and daring “ enterprize.” Such was the plan of their revolt. Their next step was, by their agents and emissaries to kindle the flame of discord all over Gaul. The conspirators, in the mean time, with a specious shew of duty, submitted to the commands of

Vocula,



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Vocula, determined to deceive him at first, and ruin him in the end. The plot, however, was not entirely concealed from the Roman general: he received intelligence, but in a difficult juncture, when his legions were incomplete, and wavering in their duty. Vocula found himself surrounded with perfidious soldiers, and secret conspirators. In that distress he judged it best to play against his enemies their own insidious game. With this design he set out for the Agrippinian colony. At that place he met Claudius Labeo, who, as already mentioned, had been sent by Civilis to be detained in custody by the Frisians. Having corrupted his guard, this man made his escape, and fled for refuge to the Romans. He now was willing to assist their cause. To that end he offered, at the head of a detachment, to penetrate into Batavia, and, by his influence, to engage the chiefs of the country in the interest of Rome. He obtained a small party of foot and cavalry, and with that force passed over into the island, but attempted nothing against the Batavians. The whole of his service consisted in prevailing on a party of the Nervians and Batavians (*a*) to take up arms. With that reinforcement, he ventured to attack the Caninefates and Marfacians, not indeed in an open and regular war, but, in the style of a freebooter, by sudden incursions.

LVII. THE Gauls found means to impose upon Vocula. That commander fell into the snare, and marched in quest of the enemy. As soon as he approached the old camp, called VETERA, Clafficus and Tutor, under colour of exploring the motions of the enemy, advanced to a considerable distance from the army, and, having there concluded a treaty with the German chiefs, threw off the mask at once. They encamped apart, and began to throw up entrenchments. Vocula, with indignation, exclaimed against the measure. "Rome," he said, "was not  
" so

“ so humbled by her own divisions, as to become the scorn of  
 “ the Treverians and Lingones. She had still great resources, a  
 “ number of provinces firm in her interest; victorious armies,  
 “ and the auspicious fortune of the empire. The avenging gods  
 “ were still on her side. The fate of Sacrovir (*a*) and the trea-  
 “ cherous Æduans may be still remembered. The overthrow of  
 “ Vindex (*b*) is a more recent instance. A single battle was suffi-  
 “ cient to quell those insurrections, and what have the violators  
 “ of all good faith to expect at present? The same gods, the  
 “ same vengeance, the same fate awaits them. Julius Cæsar was  
 “ the person, who best understood the national character of the  
 “ Gauls. He knew how to deal with a perfidious race. Au-  
 “ gustus followed his example. Galba granted an exemption  
 “ from tributes, and, by that indulgence, gave encouragement to  
 “ sedition. Your burthen has been lessened, and rebellion is your  
 “ gratitude: when you are once more subdued, and reduced to  
 “ poverty, you will then be taught that submission is the duty of  
 “ the vanquished.” The tone of firmness, and even ferocity,  
 with which this speech was uttered, made no impression on Clas-  
 ficus and Tutor. Vocula marched back to Novesium. The  
 Gauls encamped at the distance of two miles. The centurions  
 and soldiers visited them without restraint, and settled the price,  
 for which they were willing to sell themselves. In that vile bar-  
 gain and sale, a Roman army, with a baseness of spirit till then  
 unheard of, submitted to swear fidelity to a foreign power; and,  
 to ratify the horrible contract, agreed to murder their officers, or  
 deliver them up bound in chains. In this distress, Vocula was  
 advised to save himself by flight; but that general was resolved  
 to face every danger. With a mind superior to distress, he called  
 his men together, and harangued them as follows: -

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LVIII. “ I HAVE often addressed you, my fellow soldiers, but

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“ never with so much anxiety for your welfare ; never with so  
 “ little concern for myself. You have conspired against me, and  
 “ I hear it without regret. Encompassed as I am by so many  
 “ enemies, I can welcome death as the end of human misery.  
 “ But I feel for you ; for you my heart bleeds inwardly. You  
 “ are neither going forth to the attack, nor does the enemy offer  
 “ battle. In either case, that would be the lot of war, and I  
 “ should be willing to share the danger. You are now to draw  
 “ your unhallowed swords against your country : Clafficus ex-  
 “ pects it ; he hopes to make you traitors and parricides. He  
 “ places before your eyes the empire of Gaul ; he invites you  
 “ to swear fidelity to that imaginary state. But still reflect for  
 “ a moment : if fortune has deserted you, if your courage fails, are  
 “ there no bright examples transmitted to you by your ancestors,  
 “ to rouse your valour ? Have you forgot, how often the Roman  
 “ armies, rather than desert their post, have died bravely sword  
 “ in hand ? The allies of Rome have seen their cities wrapped  
 “ in fire, and with their wives and children perished in the flames :  
 “ and what was their motive ? They preserved their faith in-  
 “ violate, and they died with glory. Even at this moment you  
 “ have before your eyes the noblest example : in the old camp,  
 “ the legions, amidst the horrors of a siege and the miseries of  
 “ famine, still maintain their post, undismayed by danger, unse-  
 “ duced by promises. We have arms and men ; a camp well  
 “ fortified, and provisions sufficient for a long and tedious war.  
 “ That there is no want of money, yourselves are witnesses :  
 “ you have received your donative ; and whether you impute it  
 “ to Vespasian or Vitellius, it is the bounty of the emperor.  
 “ And will you, my fellow soldiers, after all your victories, after  
 “ routing the enemy at Gelduba and the old camp, will you now  
 “ shrink at once, and sully all your fame ? If you dread an en-  
 “ gagement, behold your walls and fortifications, your trenches  
 “ and

“ and palifades : those will defend you ; with those advantages  
 “ you may stand at bay, till succours arrive from the neighbour-  
 “ ing provinces. Does your general displease you ? There are  
 “ other officers ; there are tribunes, centurions, and, if you  
 “ will, there are common men to take the command. In all  
 “ events, let not the world hear the monstrous story, that Claf-  
 “ ficus and Civilis, with Roman arms and Roman soldiers, have  
 “ invaded Italy.

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“ But let me ask you : should the Gauls and Germans be able  
 “ to conduct you to the walls of Rome, will you there lift your  
 “ impious hands against your country ? My heart recoils with  
 “ horror from the thought. Shall Roman soldiers be placed as  
 “ sentinels at the tent of Tutor, the Treverian ? Shall a Batavian  
 “ give the word of command ? Will you serve as recruits to com-  
 “ plete the German battalions ? And what is to be the issue ?  
 “ When the Roman legions appear before you in order of battle,  
 “ what part will you act ? Deserters already, will you become  
 “ so a second time ? From traitors to your country, will you turn  
 “ traitors to your new allies ? Bound by your former oaths, dis-  
 “ tracted by your last, and between both confounded, you will  
 “ be lost in a maze of guilt, detesting yourselves, and still more  
 “ detested by the gods. Immortal Jove, supreme of gods, to  
 “ whom, for so many triumphs during a space of eight hundred  
 “ and twenty years, Rome has bowed down with praise and  
 “ adoration, thee I invoke ; and thee too, Romulus, thou mighty  
 “ founder of the Roman name ! on thee I call : if it is your awful  
 “ will, that, under my command, this camp shall not remain  
 “ inviolate, yet hear my humble prayer ; preserve it from the  
 “ pollution of Barbarians ; save it from such men as Tutor and  
 “ Clafficus. To these my fellow soldiers grant unshaken virtue ;



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“ or, if that cannot be, inspire them with remorse, that they may  
“ see their error, and avert the horror of flagitious deeds.”

LIX. THIS speech was heard with various emotions. Hope, fear, and shame, rose in the minds of the soldiers. Vocula retired, with his own hand determined to deliver himself from a seditious army. His slaves and freedmen interposed, but their officious care reserved him for a harsher fate. Clafficus dispatched his assassin, by name Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the first legion. That ruffian struck the fatal blow. Herennius and Numisius, who had each the command of a legion, were secured in chains. Clafficus, in a short time afterwards, entered the camp, with the pomp and apparel of a Roman commander; and though he brought with him a mind prompt and daring, he made no attempt to harangue the men, content with repeating the words of the oath. The soldiers swore fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. The murderer of Vocula was raised to rank in the army. The rest were rewarded in proportion to their crimes. Tutor and Clafficus took their different shares in the conduct of the war. Tutor proceeded with a strong force to the Agrippinian colony, and, having invested the place, compelled the inhabitants to bind themselves by an oath to the new empire. He exacted the same submission from the soldiers stationed on the Upper Rhine. Clafficus marched to Magontiacum, and, by his order, the tribunes, who refused obedience, were put to death. The præfect of the camp betook himself to flight. From those who submitted, Clafficus selected the most distinguished for their profligacy, and sent them to the old camp, with directions, to promise a free pardon to all who were willing to surrender, and, in case of wilful obstinacy, to give notice, that famine, the devouring sword, and all the horrors of military vengeance, would be

be their portion. To these instructions the messengers added their own example, and the motives that influenced their conduct.

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LX. THE besieged were now in the last distress. Their sense of duty was still an active principle, and, on the other hand, famine stared them in the face. Between honour and infamy they were held in suspense, and the conflict was for some time undecided. Their store of provisions was exhausted. They were in want, not only of common food, but even of such as necessity might suggest. They had lived on horse-flesh; their beasts of burthen were consumed, and even of animals impure and filthy none remained. Reduced to this extremity, they tore up shrubs by the root; they broke down twigs and branches; they gathered the wretched herbs that grew penuriously between the stones. A generous band! exhibiting, in the last distress, an example of patience and heroic fortitude! Men for ever memorable, if they had not at last, by sending deputies to sue for mercy, tarnished all their glory. The haughty Batavian refused to listen to their supplications, till they swore fidelity to the empire of Gaul. By the terms of the capitulation, every thing in the camp was to be delivered up to Civilis. A band of soldiers was, accordingly, sent to guard the money, the slaves, the victuallers, and the baggage. The legions marched out destitute of every thing, with a strong party to escort them. They had not proceeded above five miles, when the Germans, contrary to all good faith, attacked them with sudden fury. The brave and resolute died on the spot; others betook themselves to flight, and were cut off by the pursuers; the survivors made their way back to the camp. Civilis called the behaviour of the Germans a violation of the law of nations: but whether he was acting a part, or, in fact, had not sufficient authority to restrain a body of undisciplined Barbarians, must remain problematical. Having pillaged the camp, the Batavians



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vians threw in combustibles, and the whole was reduced to ashes. All, who had lately escaped from the fury of the sword, perished in the flames.

LXI. CIVILIS, when he first took up arms against the Romans, bound himself, by a solemn vow (*a*), according to the custom of those barbarous nations, to cherish the growth of his hair, which was now waving about his shoulders, dishevelled, long, and red. Thinking himself absolved by the slaughter of the legions, he cut it short for the first time during the war. He is said to have given to his infant son some Roman prisoners, as a mark to be levelled at with little darts and arrows, for the diversion of a child. It is worthy of notice, that in the height of his zeal for the empire of Gaul, he neither swore fidelity himself, nor required that act of submission from the Batavians. He relied on the valour of the Germans; and should it be necessary to contend for the sovereign power, he considered his own abilities and his fame in arms as a decided superiority. Mummius Lupercus, the commander of a legion, was sent, among a number of ample presents, as a gift to Veleda, a prophetess of the Bructerian nation (*b*). She ruled over a large tract of territory. Her name was held in veneration throughout Germany. The superstition of the country ascribed to numbers of women a præternatural insight into future events; and, in consequence of that persuasion, many have been revered as goddesses. Veleda, at that time, was the oracle of Germany. She had foretold the success of her countrymen, and the destruction of the legions. Her name, in consequence of that prediction, rose to the highest pitch. Lupercus was murdered on the road. A few centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reserved as hostages in the hands of Civilis, to bind the alliance between the two nations. The winter camps of the cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions, except-

excepting one at Magontiacum, and another at Vindonissa, were levelled to the ground, or destroyed by fire.

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LXII. THE thirteenth legion, with the auxiliaries that surrendered at the same time, received orders to march, on a day appointed, from Novesium to the colony of the Treverians. The interval was big with anxiety, terror, and distraction. The dastardly thought of nothing but the massacre at the old camp, and expected to have that scene renewed. The better sort, who still retained some sense of honour, blushed to see the humiliating condition, to which they were reduced. “What kind of march” were they to undertake? and who was to conduct them? It “was their own act, they said, that made the Barbarians arbiters of life and death: every thing depends upon their will and pleasure.” Others cared for nothing but their money and their effects. To pack up what they valued most, and brace it round their bodies, was their only employment. About shame and dishonour they felt no solicitude. A few prepared their arms, as if for the field of battle. The fatal day arrived, more dismal and afflicting than their imaginations had represented it. In the camp their wretched appearance passed without notice: the open field and the glare of day displayed a scene of deformity. The images of the emperors were torn down from the ensigns; and the Roman standards, stripped of their ornaments, seemed to droop in disgrace, while the colours of the Gauls fluttered in the air, and glittered to the eye. The march was slow, silent, melancholy; a long and dismal train, resembling a funeral procession. Claudius Sanctus, a man deformed by the loss of an eye, of a ferocious countenance, and remarkable stupidity, was their leader. Their disgrace was aggravated by the arrival of another legion from the camp at Bonn. This wretched state of captivity was rumoured about the country, and the people, who a little before



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before shuddered at the Roman name, flocked together in crowds to behold their reverse of fortune. The fields were deserted; houses were left empty; a prodigious multitude assembled from all quarters to enjoy the novelty of the spectacle. The insolence of the rabble was more than the squadron of horse, called PICENTINA (*a*), had patience to endure. They marched off in disdain, directing their route towards Magontiacum; nor could Sanctus, their commander, by threats or menaces divert them from their purpose. In their way they met Longinus, the murderer of Vocula, and killed him on the spot. By that sacrifice they began to expiate their own disgrace. The legions, without altering their course, proceeded to the city of the Treverians, and pitched their tents under the walls.

LXIII. CIVILIS and Clasticus, elated with success, had it in contemplation to give the Agrippinian colony to the fury of the soldiers. Their own natural ferocity and love of plunder conspired to prompt them to this act of barbarity; but motives of policy counterbalanced their inclinations. They knew that to the founders of a new empire the fame of clemency is always an advantage. Civilis had other reasons: his son, on the first breaking out of the war, was taken into custody by the Agrippinians, and treated with marks of respect. Civilis felt the obligation, and gratitude touched his heart; but the nations beyond the Rhine saw the opulence of the place, and the increase of population, with an eye of envy. They insisted, that, to terminate the war, it was necessary either to make it an open city for all Germany, or to demolish it at once, and, by that stroke, exterminate the Ubian race.

LXIV. THE Tencterians, a people dwelling on the opposite bank of the Rhine, thought fit to send ambassadors to the Agrippinian

pinian colony, with directions to explain to an assembly of the  
 state the sentiments of the German nations. The person among  
 the deputies most distinguished by his ferocity spoke as follows :  
 “ That you have restored yourselves to your country, and are  
 “ become Germans in fact as well as in name, we return thanks  
 “ to the gods, whom we adore in common, and in particular to  
 “ Mars, the supreme of deities. We congratulate you on this  
 “ great occasion : you will live, henceforward, among nations  
 “ born in freedom, and you will enjoy your natural rights. The  
 “ Romans, hitherto, were masters of our lands, our rivers, and  
 “ even of the elements over our heads. They excluded us from  
 “ all intercourse with you : if at any time we were allowed access  
 “ to your city, it was under the eye of a guard ; and what to a  
 “ warlike people was the worst indignity, we were forced to visit  
 “ you without our arms, defenceless and almost naked, nay,  
 “ obliged to pay a tax for the favour. Would you now establish  
 “ our mutual friendship on a firm foundation ? These are the con-  
 “ ditions : demolish the walls of your city, those monuments of  
 “ your former slavery. The fiercest animals, if you keep them  
 “ close confined, grow mild in time, and forget their nature.  
 “ Rise at once, and by a general massacre extirpate the Roman  
 “ race. Liberty and the presence of a master are incompatible.  
 “ When you have destroyed your enemies, let their goods be  
 “ brought into a common stock ; allow no embezzlement, nor  
 “ suffer any man to think of his own private advantage. Our  
 “ common ancestors enjoyed both banks of the Rhine : let those  
 “ rights be now restored. The use of light and air is given by  
 “ nature to us all, and the same liberal hand has opened to the  
 “ brave and valiant a free passage to every region of the globe.  
 “ Revive the customs of your ancestors ; restore the primitive  
 “ laws, and renounce the charm of baneful pleasures. The  
 “ Romans, hitherto, have waged a war of luxury, and have suc-

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“ceeded more by their vices (*a*), than by their valour. Prove  
“yourself Germans, shake off the yoke; be a regenerated, a  
“brave, unmixed, and warlike people; you will then be upon a  
“footing of equality with your neighbours: in time, perhaps,  
“you may rise to the dignity of giving laws to others.”

LXV. THE Agrippinians desired time for deliberation. If they complied with the terms, they trembled at the consequences; and, in their present condition, a peremptory refusal was more than they dared to hazard. Their answer was as follows: “As soon as we perceived the dawn of returning liberty, we seized the opportunity, with more zeal than prudence, to make common cause with you and the rest of our German relatives. But when the Roman armies are assembling on every side, is that a time to demolish our fortifications? The juncture requires that we should rather add to their strength. If, heretofore, there have been within our territories emigrants from Italy and the provinces of Rome, the rage of war has destroyed them, or they have made their escape to their native home. As to those, who formerly transplanted their families, and settled amongst us, they have been for a long time part of the colony, intermixed and blended with us by intermarriages and the ties of consanguinity. Their descendants are our own progeny: this is their native land, and this their country. And are we now required to cut the throats of our fathers, our brothers, and our children? That black design cannot be imputed to the Tencterians. A free commerce shall be established: all duties, that are a restraint on trade and liberty, shall be repealed. Our city shall be open to you, but with this restriction: you must come unarmed, and in open day, that these regulations, at present new and therefore feeble, may gain strength from time, and grow into established usage. We desire that Civilis

“and Veleda may arbitrate between us. Under their sanction  
 “the treaty shall be ratified.” The Tencterians acquiesced.  
 Ambassadors were sent with presents to Civilis and Veleda, and,  
 by their mediation, all matters were adjusted to the satisfaction of  
 the Agrippinians. The deputies, however, were not admitted to  
 the presence of Veleda. To increase the veneration paid to her  
 character, all access to her person was denied. She resided in  
 the summit of a lofty tower. A near relation, chosen for the  
 purpose, conveyed to her the several questions, and from that  
 sanctuary brought back oracular responses, like a messenger who  
 held commerce with the gods.

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LXVI. STRENGTHENED by his alliance with the Agrippinian colony, Civilis turned his thoughts to the neighbouring states, determined, if gentle measures proved ineffectual, to subdue them by force. The Sunicians (*a*) had already submitted to his arms, and he had formed the youth of the country capable of bearing arms, into regular cohorts. To oppose his progress, Claudius Labeo advanced at the head of a considerable body of Batavians, Tungrians, and Nervians, raised by sudden levies. Having taken an advantageous post, where he commanded the bridge over the Meuse, he ventured an engagement. The battle was, for some time, fought in a narrow defile with doubtful success, till the Germans, with their usual dexterity in swimming, crossed the river, and charged Labeo's forces in the rear. Civilis, with a bold effort of courage, or in consequence of a preconceived measure, rushed among the Tungrians, proclaiming aloud, “that  
 “the object of the war was not to procure for the Batavians and  
 “Treverians dominion over the nations. We have no such arro-  
 “gance, no such wild ambition. We court your alliance: I am  
 “ready to join you; your general, if you will; if not, a com-  
 “mon soldier.” This speech had its effect. The common men



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felt the impression, and sheathed their swords. In that moment, Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, in behalf of themselves and their whole nation, submitted to Civilis. Labeo made his escape. The Betafians and the Nervians in like manner surrendered. Civilis incorporated them with his army, and, in a tide of success, saw his strength increasing every day. The adjacent nations were overawed by the terror of his arms, or voluntarily entered into the confederacy.

LXVII. MEANWHILE, Julius Sabinus, having destroyed all public monuments of the alliance (*a*) between Rome and the Lingones, caused himself to be proclaimed by the title of Cæsar. He put himself, soon after, at the head of an undisciplined multitude of his countrymen, and marched against the Sequanians (*b*), a neighbouring state at that time faithful to Rome. The Sequanians did not decline the conflict. Fortune favoured the juster cause. The Lingones were defeated. The rashness, with which Sabinus rushed on to the attack, was equalled by nothing but the precipitation, with which he fled the field. He escaped to a cottage, and, in order to spread a report of his death, set fire to the place. It was generally believed that he perished in the flames. He lived nine years afterwards. The various arts, by which he protracted his days, and the subterraneous places, in which he lay concealed, together with the constancy of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina (*c*), shall be recorded in their proper place. The victory obtained by the Sequanians checked the progress of the war. The states of Gaul began to think with moderation, and to reflect on the law of nations and the faith of subsisting treaties. The people of Rheims (*d*) set the example. By a proclamation dispersed through Gaul they summoned a convention of delegates from the several provinces, in order to consult which was most for the general interest,

interest, a settled peace, or a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty.

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LXVIII. AT Rome, in the mean time, these transactions, exaggerated always beyond the truth, kept Mucianus in a state of anxiety. He had already appointed Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis to command the German armies; but, though they were both officers of distinguished merit, there was reason to fear that they would prove unequal to the weight of the war. Rome, at the same time, could not be left without a ruler. From the unbridled passions of Domitian every thing was to be apprehended. Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were both suspected. The latter commanded the prætorian guards, and, by consequence, had arms and men in his power. Mucianus removed him from his office, and, to soften his fall, made him superintendant of the public granaries. To reconcile Domitian, the known friend of Varus, to the measure, he gave the vacant post to Arretinus Clemens, a man nearly related to the house of Vespasian, and high in favour with the young prince. His father, in the reign of Caligula, held the same command, with considerable reputation. The name, Mucianus observed, would be welcome to the soldiers; and the new officer, though a member of the senate, would be able to discharge the duty of both stations. An expedition against the Germans was now a settled measure. The principal men at Rome had notice to attend the army. Numbers offered themselves with views of ambition. Domitian and Mucianus prepared to set out, but with different motives; the prince with the ardour of youth, panting for the novelty of enterprise; Mucianus, with studied delays, endeavouring to protract the time, in order to allay the impetuosity of Domitian. A young man of his rank, hurried away by his passions, or misled by evil counsellors, might, at the head of the army, so embarrass every



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every thing, that it would be impossible either to wage war with advantage, or to conclude an honourable peace.

Two of the victorious legions, namely, the sixth and eighth, with the twenty-first from the Vitellian party, and the second from the forces lately raised, had orders to march into Gaul by different routes; some over the Penine and Cottian Alps, and others over the Graian mountains. The fourteenth legion was recalled from Britain, and the sixth and tenth from Spain. Alarmed by these preparations, the states of Gaul, already disposed to pacific measures, held a convention at Rheims. The deputies of the Treverians attended the meeting, and with them Tullius Valentinus, a fierce incendiary, and the most active promoter of the war. In a speech prepared for the purpose, he poured forth a torrent of declamation, abounding with all the topics of invective usually urged against the authority of extensive empires, and all the injurious reflections, that could be cast on the Roman name. To inflame sedition was the talent of the man. Possessing a daring genius and a turbulent vein of eloquence, no wonder that he was the favourite orator of the vulgar.

LXIX. JULIUS AUSPEX, a leading chief among the people of Rheims, rose in opposition to the Treverian. He painted forth the power of the Romans, and the blessings of peace. "Nations," he said, "might be involved in all the calamities of war by men of no account in the field. The coward may begin hostilities, but the brave and valiant are left to shed their blood in the quarrel. Even then the Roman legions were advancing, and to oppose them would be a vain attempt." He urged the faith of treaties, and by that consideration succeeded with men of sober judgment: the young and ardent were restrained by the magnitude

nitude of the approaching danger. All admired the spirit of Valentinus, but the advice of Aufpex was adopted. The states of Gaul had not forgot, that, in the commotions excited by Vindex, the Treverians and Lingones (*a*) had sided with Verginius, and that conduct was still felt with resentment. The mutual jealousy with which the several provinces beheld each other, was still another reason to prevent their acting in concert. "Who was to have the conduct of the war? Under whose auspices were the troops to take the field? And, if their efforts were crowned with success, where were they to fix the seat of empire?" By this spirit of emulation all were thrown into violent debate: they had gained no victory, and yet were quarrelling for the spoils. One state talked of its alliances; another was rich and powerful; a third boasted of its ancient origin, and all with arrogance claimed the superiority. The result was a general resolution to prefer their present condition to the uncertain issue of a dangerous war. Letters were dispatched to the Treverians in the name of the states of Gaul, requiring them to lay down their arms, while repentance might obtain their pardon, and their friends were ready to solicit for them. Valentinus opposed all terms of accommodation. His countrymen, by his advice, were deaf to all remonstrances. But war was not the talent of their leader. Skilled in debate, he was a factious demagogue, and an inactive soldier.

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LXX. THE exertions of the Treverians, the Lingones, and other revolted states, were in no proportion to the importance of the occasion. Between their generals no concerted plan, no union of counsels. Civilis traversed the defiles and devious parts of Belgia (*a*), with no object in view, but that of making Labeo his prisoner, or forcing him to fly the country. Classicus loitered away the time in indolence, pleased with his imaginary empire, and swaying a sceptre not yet in his possession. Even Tutor

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neglected to secure the banks of the upper Rhine, and the passes of the Alps. In the mean time, the one-and-twentieth legion, by the way of Vindonissa, penetrated into Gaul, and Sextilius Felix, with the auxiliary cohorts, forced his way through Rhætia (*b*). He was joined by a squadron of horse, embodied first by Vitellius, and afterwards lifted under Vespasian. Their commanding officer was Julius Briganticus, whose mother was the sister of Civilis. The uncle and the nephew hated each other, and, as is often the case in family quarrels, their animosity was deep, envenomed, and implacable. Tutor found means to augment his army by new musters in the country of the Vangiones (*c*), the Caracatians, and Tribocians. He added a body of Roman veterans, both horse and foot, whom he had either inveigled by promises, or compelled by menaces. A cohort detached by Sextilius Felix appeared in sight. The veteran legionaries put the whole corps to the sword; but seeing the approach of Roman generals and a Roman army, they went over to that side, and by a second desertion atoned for the disgrace of the first. The Tribocians, the Vangiones, and the Caracatians followed their example.

Tutor, being now deserted by all but his countrymen the Treverians, thought it best to make his retreat. He avoided Magontiacum, and made the best of his way to Bingium (*d*), where, having destroyed the bridge over the river Nava (*e*), he thought himself posted to advantage. Felix, with a cohort under his command, hung closely on his rear. Having found a fordable place, his men crossed the river, and rushed on to the attack. Tutor was put to the rout, and totally defeated. The Treverians, struck with terror, laid down their arms, and dispersed themselves about the country. Some of their chiefs, to claim the merit of a voluntary submission, fled for refuge to such states,

as

as had not joined in the revolt. The legions, which had been removed, as already mentioned, from Novesium and Bonn to the territory of the Treverians, seized their opportunity to renew their oath of fidelity to Vespasian. Valentinus was absent in some other quarter. He returned, breathing vengeance, and bent on new commotions; but the legions quitted the country, and pursued their route to (*f*) Mediomatricum, a city in alliance with Rome. By the zeal and ardour of Tutor and Valentinus the Treverians were once more incited to take up arms. To strengthen the band of union by cutting off all hopes of pardon, they murdered Herennius and Numisius, two commanders of legions; and by that exploit hoped to rouse the desperate valour of their countrymen.

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LXXI. SUCH was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis reached Magontiacum. By his arrival the face of things was changed. That general, always eager to give battle, and, by his natural temper, more disposed to hold the enemy in contempt than to prevent a surprise, harangued his men, and by his manly eloquence inspired them with new ardour. He desired that they would hold themselves in readiness for action, as he was resolved to seize the first opportunity that offered. The levies, which had been raised in Gaul, he ordered back to their own country, with directions to publish every where, that the legions were sufficient to defend the empire; and, therefore, that the allies might return to the employments of peace, secure from danger, since the Roman armies had taken the field. By this message the Gauls were wrought to a more pacific temper. Their young men being thus restored to their country, they felt their tribute lighter; and, their service being no longer wanted, their zeal rose in proportion.

Civilis and Clafficus saw the sad reverse of their affairs. Tutor



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was defeated ; the Treverians were cut to pieces, and fortune began to smile on the Roman arms. In this distress, they drew together their scattered forces ; taking care, in the mean time, to warn Valentinus, by repeated messengers, not to stand the hazard of a decisive engagement. Cerealis was the more impatient to strike a sudden blow. He dispatched proper officers to Mediomatricum, with orders to bring forward the legions from that place, by the shortest route. Having, in the mean time, united the soldiers stationed at Magontiacum with the forces which he brought with him from Italy, he proceeded by rapid marches, and in three days arrived at Rigodulum (*a*). At that place Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treverians, had taken post in a strong situation, defended on one side by the Moselle, and in other parts inclosed by mountains. To the natural strength of the place he added a deep fosse, and a rampart of stones piled on one another. The Roman general was determined to surmount all difficulties. He ordered the infantry to rush on to the assault, while the cavalry gained the higher ground. He despised an enemy consisting of new levies ; an undisciplined army, to whom their fortifications could give no advantage which Roman valour was not able to conquer. The first ascent was difficult. For some time the soldiers were retarded by the missile weapons of the enemy, but in spite of every obstacle they gained the summit. A close engagement followed. The Barbarians were hurled headlong from the steep, as if their fortifications tumbled down in ruins. In the mean time a party of the cavalry, having circled round the smooth edges of the hill, made the principal Belgic chiefs prisoners of war, with Valentinus, their general, in the number.

LXXII. ON the following day Cerealis entered the capital of the Treverians. The soldiers panted for the destruction of the city.

city. "It was the birth-place of Clafficus and of Tutor. By  
 "them the legions had been besieged, and massacred. What  
 "was the guilt of Cremona? That unfortunate city checked the  
 "career of a victorious army for a single night, and, for that  
 "offence, was swept from the bosom of Italy. And shall a  
 "hostile city, standing on the confines of Germany, be allowed  
 "to subsist, and even to flourish, rich with the spoil of plundered  
 "armies, and reeking with the blood of slaughtered generals?  
 "Let the booty be added to the public treasure; but let the place  
 "be wrapt in flames, and the whole colony laid in ruins. That  
 "just revenge would atone for the loss of so many Roman camps.  
 "The soldiers ask no more." Cerealis dreaded the consequence  
 of suffering his army to retaliate by acts of cruelty, which, he  
 knew, would brand his name with infamy. He checked the  
 fury of his men, and they obeyed. The rage of civil war was  
 over, and against foreign enemies there was nothing to embitter  
 the soldier's mind. There was, besides, another object, that  
 touched every heart with compassion. The legions from Me-  
 diomatricum presented a spectacle truly wretched. Conscious  
 of their guilt, they stood with their eyes fixed on the ground.  
 Between the two armies no mutual salutation passed. The men  
 in disgrace heard the words of consolation from their friends, and  
 made no answer. They retired in silence to their tents, wishing  
 to hide themselves from the face of day. Fear made no part of  
 their distress. They felt the infamy of their conduct, and shame  
 and anguish of heart overwhelmed them. Even the men, who  
 were flushed with their recent victory, stood at gaze in mute  
 astonishment. They pitied their fellow soldiers, but did not dare  
 to raise their voices in their favour. They shewed their compas-  
 sion by their pathetic silence, and interceded for them with their  
 tears. Cerealis removed all cause of apprehension. He declared  
 that all that had happened, either in consequence of dissensions

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among the superior officers, by sedition among the soldiers, or the treachery of the enemy, was the effect of fatal necessity. “ But “ now,” he said, “ the revolted soldiers are once more the soldiers “ of their country. From this day you are enlisted in the service, “ and from this day you are bound by the oath of fidelity. The “ emperor has forgot all that has happened, and your general will “ remember nothing.” The penitent troops were admitted into the camp; and the general gave out in orders to every company, that no man should presume, upon any occasion, public or private, to mention the revolt of the legions, or the disasters that happened afterwards.

LXXIII. CEREALIS, without loss of time, called an assembly of the Treverians and Lingones. His speech was to the following effect: “ Eloquence is not my province: it is a talent which “ I never cultivated. Arms have been my profession: in the “ field of battle I have given you proof of Roman valour. But “ words, and what you call eloquence, are, in your estimation, “ superior gifts, of power to change the colours of good and evil. “ It is not by the nature of things that you form your judgment: “ the speech of a seditious incendiary has more weight and influence. But a few plain words may prove a seasonable antidote. I shall, therefore, explain myself to you on certain points, “ which, now the war is over, it will be more your interest to “ hear, than mine to enforce. When the Roman generals at the “ head of their armies entered your territories, and the other provinces of Gaul, they were neither led by their own ambition, “ nor the lust of conquest. They were invited by your ancestors, “ at that time torn by intestine divisions, and driven to the brink “ of ruin. You had called the Germans to your aid, and those “ Barbarians proved the worst of tyrants: they enslaved, without “ distinction, those who invited them, and those who resisted. The “ battles,

“ battles, which Rome has fought with the Teutones (*a*) and  
 “ the Cimbrians, need not be mentioned. Her wars in Germany,  
 “ and the toil and vigour of her legions, with the various events  
 “ that followed, are all sufficiently known. If the legions seized  
 “ the banks of the Rhine, can the defence of Italy be deemed  
 “ the motive? The protection of Gaul was the object, that ano-  
 “ ther Ariovistus (*b*) may not aspire to reign over you. And do  
 “ you now imagine, that Civilis, or the Batavians, or the nations  
 “ beyond the Rhine, have that affection for you and your welfare,  
 “ which your forefathers never experienced from their ancestors?  
 “ The same motives, that first incited the Germans to cross the  
 “ Rhine, will ever subsist: ambition, avarice, and the love of  
 “ new settlements, will be perpetual incentives. The Germans  
 “ will be ready, at all times, to change their swampy fens and  
 “ barren deserts, for your fertile plains and fruitful valleys. On  
 “ your own soil they wish to lord it over you. They come to  
 “ ravage your lands, and liberty is the pretext. But the rights  
 “ of man, and other specious names, are the language of all who  
 “ want to usurp dominion over others.”

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LXXIV. “ YOUR country, till you put yourselves under our  
 “ protection, was at all times harassed with wars, and oppressed  
 “ by tyrants. Rome has been often insulted, often provoked by  
 “ the unruly spirit of the Gauls; and what has been the use of  
 “ her victories? She required no more at your hands than what  
 “ was necessary for the aid of a government, that defends and  
 “ protects you (*a*). To maintain the tranquillity of nations,  
 “ arms are necessary; soldiers must be kept in pay; and without  
 “ a tribute from the provinces, how are supplies to be raised? In  
 “ common with the citizens of Rome you enjoy every benefit.  
 “ Our legions are often commanded by you; you are governors  
 “ of your own provinces, and even of others subject to the em-  
 “ pire.”



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"pire. All posts of honour are open to you ; nothing is pre-  
 "cluded. Does a virtuous prince reign at Rome ? though placed  
 "at a distance, you feel the mildness of his government. Does  
 "a tyrant rule with an irod rod ? his weight is felt by those im-  
 "mediately within his reach. Natural evils, such as incessant  
 "rains, and barren seasons, you are forced to bear (*b*) : political  
 "evils, such as the avarice and prodigality of princes, should in  
 "like manner be endured. As long as there are men, there will  
 "be vices. But vice is not without interruption. Better times  
 "succeed, and the virtue of a good prince atones for antece-  
 "dent evils. But, perhaps, you expect from Tutor and from  
 "Clafficus a mild and equitable reign. Under their auspices  
 "armies must be raised to repel the Germans and the Britons ;  
 "and this, you fancy, will be done with lighter taxes than you  
 "pay at present. Overturn the Roman power (may the gods  
 "avert so dire a calamity !) and what think you will be the con-  
 "sequence ? The nations will rise in arms, and the world will be  
 "a theatre of war. During a space of eight hundred years, the  
 "mighty fabric of the empire has been raised by the valour of the  
 "legions, and a series of victories ; nor can that fabric be rent  
 "from its foundation, without burying all, who prevail against  
 "it, in one general ruin. In that scene of wild commotion, Gaul  
 "will be the sufferer. You have gold and riches, those great  
 "incentives of ambition, and the prime cause of war. Peace is  
 "your interest. Cherish it, therefore, and honour the city of  
 "Rome ; a city, that protects her subjects, and is ever ready to  
 "receive the conquered upon equal terms with her own native  
 "inhabitants. Take warning from your own experience : you  
 "have known the smiles and the frowns of fortune ; it will now  
 "be yours to shew that you have the wisdom to prefer to a  
 "revolt, which may involve you all in ruin, a pacific temper,  
 "and a due regard to your own internal happiness." This  
 speech

speech revived the drooping spirits of the Gauls. They expected to be treated with rigour, and their fears were dissipated.

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LXXV. THE Romans were in possession of the Treverian state, when Cerealis received letters from Civilis and Claſſicus, in substance as follows: “Vespasian is no more; though the secret is suppressed with care, the fact is well known. Italy and Rome are reduced to the last extremity, by their own dissensions. Domitian and Mucianus are high-sounding names, yet signify nothing. If Cerealis aspired to the sovereignty of Gaul, Civilis and Claſſicus would rest contented with the Batavian dominions. If he preferred the decision of the sword, they were willing to try the fortune of the field.” To this message Cerealis returned no answer, but sent the letter, and the person that brought it, to Domitian. Meanwhile, the Barbarians, in detached parties, came pouring down from every quarter. Cerealis was censured for suffering an army to be assembled, when he might have attacked the enemy in separate divisions, before they formed a junction. He had even neglected to fortify his camp, and at last contented himself with a fosse and a palisade.

LXXVI. THE chiefs of the German army were divided in opinion about their future operations. Civilis was for waiting till the nations arrived from the other side of the Rhine. “The Romans,” he said, “would shrink with terror from the approach of those gallant warriors. The Gauls were of no account; a race of dastards, and the ready prey to the conqueror. The Belgians are the strength of their nation; and yet those states are either in arms against the Romans, or with us in their hearts.” Tutor opposed this advice. “By protracting the war, the enemy would gain time to augment their army. Their legions were advancing on every side. One was already



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“ already arrived from Britain ; others were on their march from  
 “ Spain, and more from Italy ; all hardy veterans, enured to the  
 “ fatigue and the perils of war. The Germans, for whom we are  
 “ desired to wait, are strangers to discipline ; men unaccustomed  
 “ to obey their officers, without any other guide than their own  
 “ caprice, and the impulse of the moment. Besides this, they  
 “ are a venal race ; money is their passion, and with those  
 “ sinews of war the Romans are best provided. And when the  
 “ price of inactivity is equal to the wages of war, what soldier  
 “ will not prefer the former ? If we offer battle, what force has  
 “ Cerealis to bring against us ? His legions are the poor remains  
 “ of the German army, the refuse of the sword, all lately bound  
 “ by solemn oaths to the empire of the Gauls. On what does  
 “ the Roman found his hopes ? He put to the rout an undisciplined  
 “ handful of men under the conduct of Valentinus : but that very  
 “ circumstance will be his ruin. The general and his army are  
 “ inspired with a fit of valour, and will soon have reason to  
 “ repent of their rashness. Let him hazard an engagement : it  
 “ will not be with Valentinus, a young orator, fluent in words,  
 “ but of no skill in war : the affair will be with Civilis and with  
 “ Clafficus. The sight of those chiefs will cover the legions with  
 “ consternation : their defeat, their flight, their famine, and  
 “ their ignominious surrender, will all be present to their minds,  
 “ and all will plunge them in despair. As to the Treverians and  
 “ Lingones, will they be faithful to the Romans ? Remove their  
 “ fears (*a*), and the next moment they are on our side.” Such  
 was the advice of Tutor. Clafficus adopted it, and the measure  
 was forthwith carried into execution.

LXXVII. THE chiefs drew up their men in order of battle.  
 In the centre they stationed the Ubians and Lingones, the  
 Batavian cohorts in the right wing, the Bructerians and Tenc-  
 terians

terians in the left. They resolved to attack the Romans in their camp. One division poured down from the hills, while the rest advanced with rapidity over the plain that lay between the high road and the Moselle. The blow was struck with such sudden vigour, that Cerealis, who passed the night out of his camp, received in bed the news of the attack and the defeat. He gave no credit to the account, but persisted with anger to condemn the folly of the messengers, till he saw a scene of carnage. The Germans had forced the entrenchments; the cavalry was routed, and the bridge over the Moselle, which made a communication between the Treverians and the Agrippinians, was in possession of the enemy. Undismayed in the moment of danger, he rushed forward, without waiting for his armour, to retrieve the loss. He threw himself into the middle of the fray, and faced every danger, defying darts and javelins, animating the brave, and stopping such as fled from their post. His example roused a spirit of emulation. Numbers went to his assistance. His happy temerity recovered possession of the bridge, and that important pass was secured by a chosen band.

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Cerealis returned to the camp. He there saw the legions, which had been captured at Novesium and Bonn, dispersed in wild disorder, their standards well nigh abandoned, and the eagles in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at the sight, he exclaimed aloud, "It is not Flaccus, it is not Vo-  
" cula whom you thus abandon; against me you have no charge  
" of treachery. The confidence which I reposed in you is my  
" only crime. I was weak enough to believe that you repented  
" of your submission to the empire of Gaul: I thought you capa-  
" ble of remembering, with remorse, your violated oath of fidelity  
" to your country: but I was too credulous. Add me to the  
" list of your murdered generals; stretch me in death with



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“ Herennius and Numifius ; let it be the fate of all your com-  
 “ manders to perish by the hands of their foldiers, or to be  
 “ butchered by the enemy (*a*). Go, tell Vefpafian, or, if you  
 “ will, tell Clafficus and Civilis (for they are nearer), tell the Bar-  
 “ barians all your brave exploits, and make it a merit with them  
 “ that you have deferted your general. But remember that the  
 “ legions are at hand. They will revenge my death, and your  
 “ crimes will not remain unpunifhed.”

LXXVIII. THESE reproaches were founded in truth : the tri-  
 bunes and other officers urged the fame topics. The foldiers  
 rallied, but could only form in cohorts, or in feperate companies.  
 Surrounded as they were by the enemy, and forced to engage  
 within the entrenchments, amidft the tents and baggage, they  
 were not able to prefent a regular line of battle. Tutor, Clafficus,  
 and Civilis, at the head of their refpective divifions, enacted  
 wonders. They invited the Gauls to liberty, the Batavians to  
 immortal glory, and the Germans to the plunder of the camp.  
 All things confpired in their favour, till the one-and-twentieth  
 legion, finding an open fpace, drew up in regular order, and,  
 after fufstaining for fome time the fhock of fuperior numbers,  
 turned the fortune of the day. The gods, in that moment, be-  
 came propitious to the caufe of Rome. Nothing but their fpe-  
 cial protection could work that wonderful change, in confequence  
 of which, the conquerors, who the infant before were bearing  
 down all oppofition, fled in a fudden panic from inferior numbers.  
 Their confternation, as they declared afterwards, was occafioned  
 by the cohorts that rallied after their defeat, and fhewed them-  
 felves on the ridge of the hills. They feemed to the Batavians  
 a reinforcement juft arrived. But the fact is, their love of plun-  
 der was the caufe of their ruin. When they had gained the  
 advantage, and ought to have purfued it, they began to quarrel  
 among

among themselves for their share of the booty. On the other hand Cerealis, by his negligence, well nigh lost his army ; but his bravery afterwards redeemed his character. Determined to make the best use of his victory, he took the enemy's camp on that very day, and razed it to the ground.

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LXXIX. THE interval allowed to the soldiers to repose from their fatigue was but short. Cerealis marched to the Agrippinian colony, where the inhabitants were ready to deliver up the wife and sister of Civilis, with the daughter of Clafficus, all three left in their hands as hostages for the due performance of mutual treaties. They had, at this time, massacred all the Germans throughout their colony. For this act they dreaded the vengeance of an enraged nation, and applied for succours, before the enemy could be again in force to renew the campaign, and revenge their slaughtered countrymen. For that purpose Civilis had already planned his measures. He depended on the assistance of a cohort of distinguished bravery, composed of Chaucians and Frisians, and, as he imagined, safely posted at Tolbiacum (*a*), in the Agrippinian territory. At the head of this resolute band he had projected a sudden attack, but, on the road, had the mortification to hear that those gallant soldiers were all destroyed. They had been invited by the Agrippinians to a sumptuous feast, and, in the night, as they lay oppressed with sleep and wine, their cottages being set on fire, the whole cohort perished in one general conflagration. At the same time, Cerealis made a forced march to the relief of the city. Civilis had now another care to distract his attention. He saw that the fourteenth legion, co-operating with the fleet from Britain, might harass the Batavians on the sea coast, and lay waste the country. That legion, however, marched over land (*b*), under the conduct of Fabius Priscus, to invade the Tungrians and the Nervians. Those two states submitted to



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the Romans. The Caninefates, in the mean time, attacked the fleet, and either took or sunk the greatest part. By the same people a large body of the Nervians, who had taken up arms in favour of the Romans, was totally overthrown. Clafficus, in another part of the country, fell in with a party of horse, detached by Cerealis to Novesium, and engaged them with good success. These, it is true, were petty advantages ; but being frequent, they tarnished the fame of the victory lately obtained by Cerealis.

LXXX. DURING these transactions, Mucianus, who was still at Rome, ordered the son of Vitellius (*a*) to be put to death. Political necessity was the colour which he gave to this proceeding : if the seeds of discord were not destroyed, the rude scene of civil commotion would never be closed. He still continued to foster ill will to Antonius, and, for that reason, excluded him from the train appointed to attend Domitian into Gaul. The affections of the army, he well knew, were fixed on a general, who had led them on to victory ; and such was the pride of Antonius, that, so far from bending to a superior, he could not brook an equal. Being superseded by Mucianus, he set out, in disgust, to join Vespasian. The reception, which he met with from the emperor, though it bore no marks of displeasure, did not, however, answer his expectation. Vespasian was divided between opposite motives : he knew that the services of Antonius were too glaring to be overlooked, and that the war was terminated by his ability ; but still Mucianus by his letters continued to infuse the rancour of his own private animosity. The courtiers were also leagued against Antonius : they represented him in odious colours, as a man of high ambition, fierce, and overbearing. Nor did their malice fail to revive the reproaches of his former conduct (*b*). Antonius was at no pains to soften prejudice. His arrogance provoked new enemies. He magnified his

his own exploits, and talked in degrading terms of other officers, particularly of Cæcina, a man, he said, of an abject spirit, who had surrendered with disgrace (*c*). By this conduct Antonius gave umbrage to all. His consequence declined, and the emperor, still preserving the exteriors of friendship, lost all affection for his person.

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LXXXI. VESPASIAN passed some months at Alexandria, having resolved to defer his voyage to Italy till the return of summer, when the winds, blowing in a regular direction, afford a safe and pleasant navigation. During his residence in that city, a number of incidents (*a*), out of the ordinary course of nature, seemed to mark him as the particular favourite of the gods. A man of mean condition, born at Alexandria, had lost his sight by a defluxion on his eyes. He presented himself before Vespasian, and falling prostrate on the ground implored the emperor to administer a cure for his blindness. He came, he said, by the admonition of Serapis (*b*), the god, whom the superstition of the Ægyptians holds in the highest veneration. The request was, that the emperor, with his spittle, would condescend to moisten the poor man's face and the balls of his eyes. Another, who had lost the use of his hand (*c*), inspired by the same god, begged that he would tread on the part affected. Vespasian smiled at a request so absurd and wild. The wretched objects persisted to implore his aid. He dreaded the ridicule of a vain attempt; but the importunity of the men, and the crowd of flatterers, prevailed upon the prince not entirely to disregard their petition.

He ordered the physicians to consider among themselves, whether the blindness of the one, and the paralytic affection of the other, were within the reach of human assistance. The result of the consultation was, “that the organs of sight were not so injured,



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“ jured, but that, by removing the film or cataract, the patient  
 “ might recover. As to the disabled limb, by proper applica-  
 “ tions and invigorating medicines, it was not impossible to restore  
 “ it to its former tone. The gods, perhaps, intended a special  
 “ remedy, and chose Vespasian to be the instrument of their dis-  
 “ pensations. If a cure took place, the glory of it would add  
 “ new lustre to the name of Cæsar ; if otherwise, the poor men  
 “ would bear the jests and raillery of the people.” Vespasian, in  
 the tide of his affairs, began to think that there was nothing so  
 great or wonderful, nothing so improbable or even incredible,  
 which his good fortune would not accomplish. In the presence  
 of a prodigious multitude, all erect with expectation, he advanced  
 with an air of serenity, and hazarded the experiment. The para-  
 lytic hand recovered its functions, and the blind man saw the  
 light of the sun. By living witnesses, who were actually on the  
 spot, both events are confirmed at this hour, when deceit and  
 flattery can hope for no reward (*d*).

LXXXII. VESPASIAN was now determined to visit the sanc-  
 tuary of Serapis, in order to consult the god about the future  
 fortune of the empire. Having given orders to remove all in-  
 truders, he entered the temple. While he adored the deity of  
 the place, he perceived, in the midst of his devotion, a man of  
 principal note among the Ægyptians advancing behind him (*a*).  
 The name of this person was Basilides, who, at that moment, was  
 known to be detained by illness at the distance of several miles.  
 Vespasian enquired of the priests, whether they had seen Basilides  
 that day in the temple. He asked a number of others, whether  
 they had met him in any part of the city. At length, from mes-  
 sengers, whom he dispatched on horseback, he received certain  
 intelligence, that Basilides was no less than fourscore miles distant  
 from Alexandria. He concluded, therefore, that the gods had  
 favoured

favoured him with a preternatural vision, and from the import of the word *BASILIDES* (*b*), he inferred an interpretation of the decrees of Heaven in favour of his future reign.

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LXXXIII. CONCERNING the origin of the god Serapis, a subject hitherto untouched by the Roman writers, the account given by the priests of Ægypt is as follows. At the time when Ptolemy, the first of the Macedonian race, who settled the government of Ægypt, had raised walls and ramparts to defend the new-built city of Alexandria, and afterwards gave a temple and the rites of national worship, a youth of graceful mien, and size above the human form, appeared to him in a midnight vision, commanding him to send some of his trusty friends as far as Pontus, to bring from that place into Ægypt the statue of the preternatural being then before him. By his compliance with those directions the prosperity of the whole kingdom would be advanced, and the city, which should be so happy as to possess that valuable treasure, would be great among the nations. In that instant the youth was seen mounting to heaven in a column of fire. Ptolemy had recourse to the Ægyptian priests, the usual interpreters of dreams and prodigies. But those religionists had no knowledge of Pontus, nor of any foreign modes of worship. Timotheus, the Athenian, a man descended from the race of the Eumolpides (*a*), was called in to their assistance. Ptolemy had, before this time, invited him from the city of Eleusis, to preside over the mysteries and the established worship of the country. He now desired Timotheus to explain what god had visited the king in his dreams, and what were the rites and ceremonies of his new religion. Timotheus addressed himself to such as had travelled into Pontus, and, upon enquiry, learned that there was in those parts a city called Sinope (*b*), and near it a temple of great celebrity, sacred to Pluto. Such was the opinion of the natives,



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natives, founded on tradition, and confirmed by the statue of the god erected in the temple, with a female form at his side, supposed to be Proserpina. Ptolemy, like other kings, was easily alarmed; but, soon recovering from his apprehensions, forgot the whole business, addicting himself entirely to his pleasures, and little solicitous about religious matters. The same form appeared to him a second time, arrayed in terror, and in a tone of menace denouncing vengeance on the king and his whole empire, if the orders already given were not obeyed. After this visitation Ptolemy sent his deputies with magnificent presents to Scydrothemis, the prince then on the throne of Sinope. The ambassadors had it in their instructions to touch at the isle of Delos, there to consult the Pythian Apollo. They sailed with favourable winds, and had a quick passage. The answer of the oracle was in explicit terms: "Pursue your course, carry off the statue of my father, and let that of my sister be unremoved."

LXXXIV. HAVING reached Sinope, they presented their gifts, and opened their commission to Scydrothemis. That monarch hesitated for some time. He dreaded the displeasure of an angry deity; the clamours of his people alarmed him; and, at times, the gifts and presents of the ambassadors dazzled his imagination. The business remained three years in suspense. Ptolemy never desisted from his purpose. He renewed his entreaties; he omitted no arts of persuasion; he added new dignities to his embassy, increased the number of ships, and made his presents still more magnificent. A dreadful vision appeared to Scydrothemis, threatening dreadful consequences, if he persisted in his opposition to the measures of a god. The king fluctuated between opposite counsels. His delay was punished by a variety of disasters, by sore disease, the manifest signs of divine vengeance, and calamities increasing every day. In that distress he called

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an assembly of the people, and laid before them the orders of the god, the visions of Ptolemy, as well as those which he saw himself, and the miseries that threatened the whole community: The populace clamoured in opposition to their sovereign. They envied the Ægyptian monarch, and, trembling for themselves, rushed in a body to guard the avenues of the temple. Common fame, at all times delighting in the marvellous, spread a report, that the god, of his own motion, quitted the temple, and embarked on board one of the vessels that lay at anchor in the harbour. To complete the miracle, though a large tract of sea divided Sinope from Alexandria, the voyage was performed in less than three days. A temple, such as suited a great and opulent city, was built at a place called Rhacotis (*a*), where, in ancient times, a chapel had been dedicated to Serapis and Isis.

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Such is the history of the god Serapis, and his first introduction into Ægypt. There is, however, a different account, which places the whole transaction in the reign of the third Ptolemy, who, it is said, brought the statue from Seleucia, a city of Syria: others assert, that it was found at Memphis (*b*), the celebrated capital of ancient Ægypt. Concerning the god himself the opinions of antiquarians are not less at variance. On account of his healing art, he is by some called Æsculapius; by others, Osiris, the most ancient deity of the country; and many, who think him the governing mind of the universe, give him the name of Jupiter. But the prevailing doctrine maintains that Pluto is the true deity. That hypothesis is either founded on the reasoning of mystic interpreters, or confirmed by certain symbols, that manifest the attributes of the god.

LXXXV. WE return to the affairs of Rome. Domitian and Mucianus set out on their expedition. They had hardly reached



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the foot of the Alps, when they received advice of the victory gained by Cerealis over the Treverians. Of this news they entertained no doubt when they saw Valentinus (*a*), brought in a prisoner, loaded with irons. Even in ruin that gallant chief appeared with a mind unconquered. The spirit, that animated him in the field, was still visible in his countenance. He was heard in vindication of his conduct; but curiosity and a desire to try the spirit of the man were the only motives. Being condemned to suffer death, he persevered with unshaken constancy. In his last moments he was told, with an air of insult, that his country was reduced to subjection; he calmly answered, “You have reconciled me to my fate: I die without regret.” Mucianus thought it time to change the plan of his expedition. The design had been long rolling in his mind, though he now started it as a new scheme suggested by the events of war. “The gods,” he said, “had favoured the Roman arms, and crushed the turbulent spirit of the enemy. At such a time, it would ill become Domitian to snatch the laurel from the brow of the general, who had fought with such brilliant success. If the majesty of the empire, or the security of the provinces of Gaul were exposed to danger, the crisis would be worthy of the emperor’s son; but the Canine-fates and the Batavians were the proper quarry of inferior commanders. The prince might now proceed as far as Lyons. At that place he might display the pomp of imperial grandeur, superior to the little ambition of engaging in petty skirmishes, yet near at hand, and ready, if occasion called, to undertake a great and important enterprise.”

LXXXVI. THE veil was too thin to hide the designs of Mucianus; but to yield to his artifice, without seeming to detect it, was judged the best policy. Domitian proceeded to Lyons. At that place he is said, by secret messengers, to have tampered (*a*)

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with Cerealis, in order to sound the disposition of that officer, and learn beforehand, whether, on the appearance of the prince at the head of the army, he would be willing to resign the command. Whether Domitian had it in contemplation to levy war against his father, or to strengthen himself against his brother Titus, remains uncertain. Cerealis had the wisdom to decline the overture, considering it as nothing more than the vain project of youth and inexperience. Domitian saw himself slighted by the superior officers, and, in disgust, withdrew from all public business, never interfering afterwards, nor taking upon him to direct in such inferior matters as had been heretofore committed to his authority. With a specious appearance of humble content and modesty, he chose to live in solitude, pretending that poetry and literary pursuits (*b*) were his only passion. Under this artful disguise he hoped to conceal the native passions of his heart, and to give no jealousy to his brother. From his own frame of mind he judged of Titus, commenting with malignity on the milder virtues, that adorned the character of that amiable prince.

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END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.





THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.

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BOOK V.





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*caution in danger of being taken by surprise, and carried off by the enemy in the night time. XXIII. Civilis equips a naval armament on the vast bay near the mouth of the Meuse. Cerealis collects a number of vessels, and offers battle. A slight naval engagement. This the last attempt of Civilis. He retires beyond the Rhine. The Romans in great danger from the floods by which Batavia was laid under water. XXVI. Civilis inclined to terms of peace. A conference between him and Cerealis. The rest of this book is lost.*

*These transactions passed in the*

Year of Rome — of Christ

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*Flavius Vespasianus, Titus his son.*

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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
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I. **I**N the beginning of this year, Titus was appointed by his father to complete the reduction of Judæa. This young commander (*a*), while Vespasian was yet no higher than a subject, had gained a reputation for brave exploit and military talents. His fame and authority were now in their meridian splendour. The armies of the empire and the several provinces exerted themselves with emulation to assist him in his enterprize. Titus, on his part, made it his study to shew himself superior to the fortuitous advantages of his station. Active in the field, and elegant in his manners, he endeavoured to merit esteem by affability and a strict discharge of his duty. He attended the works; he marched in the ranks, and mixed with the common soldiers,



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without impairing the dignity of his character. He was received in Judea at the head of three legions, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth (*b*); all experienced veterans, who had served under Vespasian. To these were added the twelfth, from Syria; and the third, and twenty-second, from Alexandria. He had, besides, twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse. The two kings, Agrippa and Sohemus, joined his standard. Antiochus sent the forces of his kingdom. A formidable body of Arabs, with that animosity which often embitters neighbouring nations against each other, took the field as avowed enemies of the Jewish nation. The number, that passed over from Rome and Italy, to serve as volunteers under a prince, not yet decided in his friendships, was considerable. With this force, Titus advanced into the enemy's country in order of battle, by his scouts exploring the motions of the enemy, and always prepared for action. In this manner he arrived at Jerusalem, and encamped before the town.

II. BEING now to relate the progress of a siege, that terminated in the destruction of that once celebrated city, it may be proper to go back to its first foundation, and to trace the origin of the people (*a*). The Jews, we are told, were natives of the isle of Crete. At the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, they abandoned their habitations, and gained a settlement at the extremity of Lybia. In support of this tradition, the etymology of their name is adduced as a proof. Mount Ida, well known to fame, stands in the isle of Crete: the inhabitants are called Idæans; and the word, by a barbarous corruption, was changed afterwards to that of Judæans (*b*). According to others, they were a colony from Ægypt, when that country, during the reign of Isis, overflowing with inhabitants, poured forth its redundant numbers under the conduct

conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda. A third hypothesis makes them originally Æthiopians (*c*), compelled by the tyranny of Cepheus, the reigning monarch, to abandon their country. Some authors contend that they were a tribe of Assyrians (*d*), who for some time occupied a portion of Ægypt, and, afterwards transplanting themselves into Syria, acquired in their own right a number of cities, together with the territories of the Hebrews. There is still another tradition, which ascribes to the Jews a more illustrious origin, deriving them from the ancient Solymans (*e*) so highly celebrated in the poetry of Homer. By that people the city was built, and from its founder received the name of Hierosolyma.

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III. IN this clash of opinions, one point seems to be universally admitted. A pestilential disease, disfiguring the race of man, and making the body an object of loathsome deformity (*a*), spread all over Ægypt. Bocchoris, at that time the reigning monarch, consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon (*b*), and received for answer, that the kingdom must be purified, by exterminating the infected multitude, as a race of men detested by the gods. After diligent search, the wretched sufferers were collected together, and in a wild and barren desert (*c*) abandoned to their misery. In that distress, while the vulgar herd was sunk in deep despair, Moses, one of their number, reminded them, that, by the wisdom of his counsels, they had been already rescued out of impending danger. Deserted as they were by men and gods, he told them, that if they did not repose their confidence in him, as their chief by divine commission, they had no resource left. His offer was accepted. Their march began, they knew not whither. Want of water (*d*) was their chief distress. Worn out with fatigue, they lay stretched on the bare earth, heart-broken, ready to expire, when a troop of wild asses (*e*), returning from pasture,

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went up the steep ascent of a rock covered with a grove of trees. The verdure of the herbage round the place suggested the idea of springs near at hand. Moses traced the steps of the animals, and discovered a plentiful vein of water. By this relief the fainting multitude was raised from despair. They pursued their journey for six days (*f*) without intermission. On the seventh they made halt, and, having expelled the natives, took possession of the country, where they built their city, and dedicated their temple.

IV. IN order to draw the bond of union closer, and to establish his own authority, Moses gave a new form of worship, and a system of religious ceremonies, the reverse of every thing (*a*) known to any other age or country. Whatever is held sacred by the Romans (*b*), with the Jews is profane; and what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is fully established. The figure of the animal (*c*), that guided them to refreshing springs, is consecrated in the sanctuary of their temple. In contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they sacrifice a ram. The ox (*d*), worshipped in Ægypt for the god Apis, is slain as a victim by the Jews. From the flesh of swine they abstain altogether. An animal, subject to the same leprous disease (*e*) that infected their whole nation, is not deemed proper food. The famine, with which they were for a long time afflicted, is frequently commemorated (*f*) by a solemn fast. Their bread, in memory of their having seized a quantity of grain to relieve their wants (*g*), is made without leaven. The seventh day (*h*) is sacred to rest, for on that day their labours ended; and such is their natural propensity to sloth, that, in consequence of it (*i*), every seventh year is devoted to repose and sluggish inactivity. For this septennial custom some account in a different manner: they tell us, that it is an institution in honour of Saturn (*k*), either because the Idæans, expelled, as has been mentioned, from the isle of Crete, trans-

transmitted to their posterity the principles of their religious creed, or because, among the seven planets, that govern the universe, Saturn moves in the highest orbit (*l*), and acts with the greatest energy. It may be added, that the period, in which the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, is regulated by the number seven (*m*).

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V. THESE rites and ceremonies, from whatever source derived, owe their chief support to their antiquity. They have other institutions, in themselves corrupt, impure, and even abominable, but eagerly embraced, as if their very depravity (*a*) were a recommendation. The scorn and refuse of other nations, renouncing the religion of their country, flocked in crowds to Jerusalem, enriching the place with gifts and offerings. Hence the wealth and grandeur of the state. Connected amongst themselves by the most obstinate and inflexible faith (*b*), the Jews extend their charity to all of their own persuasion, while towards the rest of mankind they nourish a fullen, and inveterate hatred. Strangers are excluded from their tables. Unsociable to all others, they eat and lodge with one another only; and, though addicted to sensuality, they admit no intercourse with women from other nations. Among themselves their passions are without restraint. Vice itself is lawful (*c*). That they may know each other by distinctive marks, they have established the practice of circumcision (*d*). All, who embrace their faith, submit to the same operation. The first elements of their religion teach their proselytes to despise the gods, to abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers, and their children. To encourage their own internal population is a great object of their policy. No man is allowed to put his children (*e*) to death. The souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal. Hence two ruling passions; the desire  
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of multiplying their species, and a fixed contempt of death. The bodies of the deceased are never burned (*f*): they choose rather to inter them, after the example of the Ægyptians. With that people they agree in their belief of a future state; they have the same notion of departed spirits (*g*), the same solicitude, and the same doctrine. With regard to the Deity (*h*) their creed is different. The Ægyptians worship various animals, and also certain symbolical representations, which are the work of man; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and him they see in the mind's eye, and him they adore in contemplation, condemning, as impious idolaters, all who with perishable materials, wrought into the human form, attempt to give a representation of the Deity. The God of the Jews is the great governing mind (*i*), that directs and guides the whole frame of nature, eternal, infinite, and neither capable of change, nor subject to decay. In consequence of this opinion, no such thing as a statue was to be seen in their city, much less in their temples. Flattery had not learned to pay that homage to their own kings, nor were they willing to admit the statues of the Cæsars. Their priests, it is true, made use of fifes and cymbals: they were crowned with wreaths of ivy (*k*), and a vine wrought in gold was seen in their temple. Hence some have inferred, that Bacchus, the conqueror of the east, was the object of their adoration. But the Jewish forms of worship have no conformity to the rites of Bacchus. The latter have their festive days, which are always celebrated with mirth and carousing banquets. Those of the Jews are a gloomy ceremony, full of absurd enthusiasm, rueful, mean, and fordid (*l*).

VI. THE country of Judæa is bounded on the east by Arabia (*a*); on the south, by Ægypt; on the west, by Phœnicia and the sea; the northern frontier stretches to a great length along the confines

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of Syria. The natives are strong, and patient of labour. The climate is dry and sultry ; rain is seldom seen, and the soil is rich and fertile. Besides the fruits known in Italy, the palm and balm tree flourish in great luxuriance. The palm is beautiful as well as lofty ; the balm is of moderate growth. Its branches, when the juices circulate, seem to call for an incision, but they dread the application of steel ; the veins shrink from its approach. The operation is performed with a shell, or pointed stone. The liquor, that distils from the wound, is of use in medicine. Libanus is the highest mountain in the country. It rises to a great height, affording shade under its verdant groves, and, even in the ardent heat of that sultry region, covered at the top with eternal snow (*b*). From this mountain the river Jordan (*c*) derives its source, and the abundance of its waters. The stream does not discharge itself into the sea : it runs into two different lakes (*d*), preserving through both a clear and unmixed current, till it loses itself in a third. The last of these lakes is of immense extent, resembling a sea, but more nauseous to the taste, and, by its fetid exhalations, pernicious to the neighbourhood. The winds occasion no undulation : the surface is never ruffled. No fish can live in these waters. The birds that love to dip the wing, avoid the place. The fluid element, for it can scarce be called water, supports, as it were on a solid expanse, whatever is thrown in. Between those, who cannot swim, and the perfect masters of the art, there is no difference (*e*) : all float with equal ease. At certain seasons of the year, the lake throws up a quantity of pitch (*f*), or bitumen. Experience, the mother of all useful arts, has taught men how to gather it. It is a liquid substance, naturally of a black hue. The infusion of vinegar gives cohesion to the parts. When thus condensed, it floats on the surface, and you may grasp it with your hand. Those, who make it their business to collect it, draw one end into their boats ; the rest of  
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the mass follows without toil or difficulty, and continues loading the vessel, till the viscous substance is cut in two. The separation is neither made with iron nor with brags. Touch it with blood, or with linen tinged with menstrual evacuations, and the parts instantly divide. Such is the account transmitted to us by ancient authors. We learn, however, from modern experience, that this extraordinary substance, floating in heaps up and down the lake, is driven towards the shore, or easily drawn by the hand; and when the vapour, that exhales from the land, or the heat of the sun has sufficiently dried and hardened it, it is then cut asunder, like wood or stone, by wedges, or the stroke of the hatchet.

VII. AT a small distance from the lake lie those wide extended plains, which tradition says were formerly a rich and fruitful country, abounding with populous cities (*a*), but long since destroyed by fire from heaven, and now a barren desert. Amidst the ruins, which still remain, we are told that the marks of celestial vengeance may be clearly traced, and that the soil, consumed and parched, has lost the powers of vegetation. Whatever the earth produces, whether by the prolific vigour of nature, or the cultivation of man, nothing ripens to perfection. The herbage may shoot up, and the trees may put forth their blossoms; they may even attain the usual appearance of maturity; but, with this florid outside, all within turns black, and moulders into dust. To speak my own opinion, though it be true, that great and flourishing cities have been destroyed by fire from heaven, yet the desolation here described may be accounted for from natural causes. The exhalations from the lake seem sufficient to blast the vital principle of the soil, and to infect the whole atmosphere. By consequence, all manner of grain, and the fruits of the autumn, naturally perish in a climate so hostile to vegetation. The river Belus (*b*) empties itself into the sea that washes the coast of

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Judæa.

Judæa. The sands, which the stream carries down in large quantities, are taken up at its mouth, and, being mixed with nitre, dissolve by the action of fire, and soon afterwards harden into glass. The shore is of small extent, and, though constantly searched, these ingredients still remain unexhausted.

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VIII. THE face of the country is covered with villages. There are likewise towns of considerable note. Jerufalem is the capital. The temple is distinguished by its wealth, no less than by its magnificence. The fortifications of the city are its first defence; the royal palace is the second; the inclosure, where the temple stands, forms the third. Even a Jew is not admitted beyond the portal. No man, except the priests, has access to the interior parts. While the Assyrians, and after them the Medes and Persians, were masters of the oriental world, the Jews, of all the nations then held in subjection, were deemed the vilest. At a subsequent period, when the Macedonian monarchy was established, Antiochus, the reigning king, formed a plan to weed out the superstition of the country. To reform, if possible, so corrupt a race, he intended to introduce the manners and institutions of Greece; but a war with the Parthians (Arsaces being then in arms) rendered that design abortive. In process of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian state was in its infancy, and the Romans were yet at a distance, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own (*a*). Their kings were soon deposed by the caprice and levity of the people. They returned, however, in a short time, and, having recovered the throne by force of arms, made the people feel the weight of their resentment. A scene of oppression followed; citizens were driven into exile; whole cities were demolished; brothers, wives, and parents, were put to death; and, in short, every species of cruelty, usual among despotic kings, was enforced



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with rigour by the usurpers. They saw that superstition is among the instruments of tyranny; and, to strengthen their ill-gotten power, they not only supported the national rites and ceremonies, but united in their own persons the sacerdotal and regal functions.

IX. POMPEY was the first Roman (*a*) that subdued the Jews. By right of conquest he entered their temple. It is a fact well known, that he found no image, no statue (*b*), no symbolical representation of the Deity; the whole presented a naked dome; the sanctuary was unadorned and simple. By Pompey's order the walls of the city were levelled to the ground, but the temple was left entire. In the civil wars that afterwards shook the empire, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Anthony, Pacorus (*c*), the Parthian king, made himself master of Judæa; but being, in a short time after, put to death by Ventidius, his forces retired beyond the Euphrates. Caius Sosius once more reduced the Jews to obedience. Herod (*d*) was placed on the throne by Mark Anthony, and Augustus confirmed the sceptre in his hand. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon (*e*), without deferring to the authority of the emperor, usurped the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the kingdom, by an equal partition, was divided between the three sons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius, things remained in a state of tranquillity. Caligula (*f*) ordered his statue to be erected in the temple. The Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms. Caligula was assassinated, and the contest died with him. In the following reign, the Jewish kings being either dead, or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, the rest of Judæa (*g*) was converted into a Roman province. Claudius committed the administration to Roman knights, or to his favourite

avourite freedmen. Antonius Felix (*b*) was of the latter description; a man who, from low beginnings, rose to power, and, with the true genius of a slave, exercised the tyranny of an eastern prince. He married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Anthony and Cleopatra. Mankind had then two extraordinary objects to gaze at; one in the person of Claudius, emperor of Rome; and the other, an enfranchised slave; each the grandson of Mark Anthony (*i*).

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X. THE Jews, though harassed by various acts of oppression, continued to give proofs of their patient spirit, till Gessius Florus (*a*), in the character of procurator, took upon him the administration of the province. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallus (*b*), the governor of Syria, endeavoured to crush the revolt. He fought a number of battles, in most of them unsuccessful. After his death, which was, perhaps, hastened by disappointment and vexation, Vespasian, by the appointment of Nero, succeeded to the command. Supported by his great military character, and the good fortune that attended his arms, with the additional advantage of able officers under him, that general, in two summer campaigns (*c*), over-ran the whole country, and made himself master of all the inferior cities. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. In the following year, the war with Vitellius engaged his attention, and the Jews enjoyed an interval of repose. The peace of Italy being at length restored, foreign affairs demanded his immediate care. The Jews were the only nation that refused to submit. The obstinacy of that stubborn people filled Vespasian with resentment. But what sudden emergencies might involve a new reign in difficulties, could not be foreseen. In order to be prepared for all events, Vespasian judged it the wisest measure to leave his son Titus at the head of the army. The prince, as already mentioned, encamped under the



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walls of Jerufalem, and drew out his legions in the face of the enemy (*d*).

XI. THE Jews appeared in force on the plains under the ramparts, determined, if fuccefsful, to push their advantage, and, if obliged to give ground, fure of a retreat within their fortifications. The Roman cavalry, with a detachment from the light armed cohorts, advanced to the attack. A battle was fought, but with doubtful fuccefs. The Jews took shelter within their walls, venturing, however, for feveral days afterwards, to fally out in fmall parties, till, tired by repeated loffes, they refolved to fhut themfelves up within their fortifications. Titus prepared to carry the place by ftorm. To linger before it, till famine compelled a furrender, appeared unworthy of the Roman name. The foldiers were eager to brave every danger: courage, ferocity, and the hope of gaining the rewards of victory, infpired the whole army. Titus had his private motives: Rome was before his eyes; wealth and magnificence dazzled his imagination; and pleafure had its allurements. If the city was not taken by af-fault, a fiege in form would detain him too long from the fplendid fcene that lay before him. But Jerufalem ftood upon an emi-nence, difficult of approach. The natural ftrength of the place was increafed by redoubts and bulwarks, which, even on the level plain, would have made it fecure from infult. Two hills (*a*), that rofe to a prodigious height, were inclofed by walls con-ffructed with fkill, in fome places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles fo formed, that the befiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were fharp, abrupt, and craggy. In convenient places, near the fummit, towers were raifed fixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the fides, rofe no lefs than a hundred and twenty feet. Thefe works prefented a fpectacle altogether afto-nifhing.

nishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city, there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings. Above all was seen, conspicuous to view, the tower Antonia (*b*), so called by Herod, in honour of the triumvir, who had been his friend and benefactor.

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XII. THE temple itself (*a*) was a strong fortress, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with consummate skill, surpassing, in art as well as labour, all the rest of the works. The very porticos that surrounded it were a strong defence. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped under the rock. The rain water was saved in pools and cisterns. It was foreseen by the founders of the city, that the manners and institutions of the nation, so repugnant to the rest of mankind, would be productive of frequent wars; hence so many precautions against a siege. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venality, that pervaded the whole reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permission to rebuild their walls (*b*). The strength of the works plainly shewed that, in profound peace, they meditated future resistance. The destruction (*c*) of the rest of their cities served to increase the number of the besieged. A prodigious conflux poured in from all quarters, and among them the most bold and turbulent spirits of the nation. The city, by consequence, was distracted by internal divisions. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, forming the widest extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwise called Bargioras, commanded in the middle precinct: Eleazar kept possession of the temple. The two former commanded the greatest number of soldiers; the latter had the advantage of situation. The three parties quarrelled



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relled among themselves. Battles were fought within the walls (*d*); stratagems were practised; conflagrations destroyed parts of the city, and a large quantity of grain was consumed in the flames. Under colour of performing a sacrifice (*e*), John contrived to send a band of assassins, to cut off Eleazar and his whole party in one general massacre. By this atrocious deed he gained possession of the temple. From that time two contending factions threw every thing into confusion, till the enemy at their gates obliged them to unite in their common defence.

XIII. PORTENTS and prodigies announced the ruin of the city: but a people, blinded by their own national superstition, and with rancour detesting the religion of other states, held it unlawful (*a*) by vows and victims to deprecate the impending danger. Swords were seen glittering in the air (*b*); embattled armies appeared, and the temple was illuminated by a stream of light, that issued from the heavens. The portal flew open, and a voice more than human denounced the immediate departure of the gods. There was heard, at the same time, a tumultuous and terrific sound, as if superior beings were actually rushing forth. The impression made by these wonders fell upon a few only: the multitude relied upon an ancient prophecy, contained, as they believed, in books kept by the priests, by which it was foretold, that, in this very juncture, the power of the east would prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judæa to extend their dominion over the rest of the world. The prediction, however, couched in ambiguous terms, related (*c*) to Vespasian and his son Titus. But the Jewish mind was not to be enlightened. With the usual propensity of men ready to believe what they ardently wish, the populace assumed to themselves the scene of grandeur, which the fates were preparing to bring forward. Calamity itself could not open their eyes. The number  
besieged

besieged in Jerufalem, including both fexes and every age, amounted, according to the best accounts, to no lefs than fix hundred thoufand (*d*). All who were capable of ferving appeared in arms. The number of effective men was beyond all proportion greater than could be expected, even in fo vaft a multitude. The women, no lefs than the men, were inflamed with zeal and ardour. If doomed to quit their country, life, they declared, was more terrible than death itfelf. Againft a city fo ftrongly fortified, and defended by fuch an obftinate race, Titus faw that nothing could be done either by furprife, or a general affault. He threw up mounds and ramparts, and prepared battering engines. He ftationed the legions at different pofts, and affigned to each a diftinct fhare of the duty. For fome time no attack was made. In the interval, the Romans prepared all the machines of war, which either the ancients had employed, or modern genius invented.

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XIV. It will now be proper to return to the affairs of Germany. Civilis, after the check which he received in the country of the Treverians, recruited his army by levies made in Germany. With thefe forces he fixed his ftation in the old camp, called VETERA (*a*), depending on the ftrength of the place. The exploits already performed on that very fpot, he hoped, would rouse the valour of his men. Cerealis followed him by rapid marches, with an army more than double his former number, having been joined by the fecond, the fixth, and the fourteenth legions. To thefe were added the cohorts and cavalry, which had fome time before received orders to come up to his affiftance. They did not immediately obey; but fince his victory they loft no time. The commanders on both fides were eager to engage. Delay was not the genius of either; but the two armies were feperated by a marfhy plain of vaft extent. The natural humi-



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dity of the soil was increased by the skill of Civilis, who had contrived, by obstructions thrown across the bed of the Rhine, to stop the current, and discharge a vast body of water on the neighbouring plains. A treacherous spot like this, covered with an inundation, that concealed the solid ground, was highly disadvantageous to the Romans, who carried a weight of armour, and had no skill in swimming. The Germans, on the contrary, had every thing in their favour. To make their way through floods and rivers, was their usual practice. They were lightly armed, and their size and stature enabled them to wade through the waters.

XV. THE Batavians advanced near enough to insult the Romans. An engagement followed. The legions were thrown into disorder. Their arms and horses were swallowed up in the fens, while the Barbarians, acquainted with the shallows and fordable places, advanced with alacrity, yet not daring to attack the front of the lines, but making their impression on the flank and rear. The conflict had no appearance of two armies engaged on a solid plain: it resembled a naval fight, where the combatants are driven at the mercy of the waves. Wherever a firm footing could be found, to that spot every effort was directed. The sound, the wounded, those who could swim, and those who were unused to the waters, were all, without distinction, involved in one general scene of distress. The slaughter, however, was inconsiderable. The Germans, not daring to hazard a battle out of their fens, returned to their camp. The event of the day made the generals on both sides wish for a decisive action; but they wished with different motives: Civilis wanted to pursue his advantage, and Cerealis to retrieve his honour. Success inspired the Barbarians; the Romans were roused by a sense of shame. The night was passed by both armies in a very different manner.

War

War songs and savage uproar resounded from the German camp ; the Romans continued silent, breathing revenge, and meditating future carnage.

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XVI. AT the return of day, Cerealis drew out his army. In the front he placed the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, and, to support them, the legions in the rear. He took post himself at the head of a chosen band, to act as occasion might require. Civilis, instead of presenting a regular line, formed his men in separate divisions. On the right stood the Batavians and Gugernians ; the left was occupied by the Germans, with the Rhine on their flank. No general harangue was made to either army. The commanders, on both sides, passed through the ranks, exhorting their men as the occasion prompted. Cerealis called to mind the glory of the Roman name, and the victories of ancient as well as modern date. " You may now," he said, " by one vigorous effort, exterminate a base, a treacherous, and a vanquished race. It is not a battle you are to expect : you are going forth the avengers of your country, to punish a rebellious crew. In the late engagement you were inferior in number, and yet their bravest troops fled before you. You see the refuse of your swords ; a set of runaways, who in their minds still bear the galling memory of their late defeat, and on their backs the print of ignominious wounds." He next addressed the legions, in the style peculiarly suited to each. The fourteenth he called the conquerors of Britain. The sixth raised Galba to the imperial dignity. The soldiers of the second were now to flesh their maiden swords, and in that field to consecrate their banners and their eagle. From the legions he passed to the German army, and, with hands outstretched, pointed to the fields around, and there, he said, " There is your station ; that bank of the Rhine, and that camp, was yours : wade through the blood of your



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“enemies, and recover your own.” The general was heard with shouts of applause. The whole army panted for the onset: those, who were weary of a long peace, were eager to signalize their valour; while others, harassed out with the toils of war, hoped, by one glorious victory, to find the end and recompense of all their labours.

XVII. IN the opposite army Civilis was neither silent nor inactive. “These fields,” he said, “have seen your brave exploits. The Batavians and the Germans, at every step they take, tread on the monuments of their own fame, and the bones of slaughtered legions. The Romans, whichever way they turn their eyes, have nothing before them but memorials of their own captivity, their defeat, and their disgrace. If in the Treverian territories the issue of the battle was unpropitious, the event of that day ought to make no impression. In that field the Germans conquered; but, too eager for plunder, they suffered the victory to be snatched out of their hands. From that moment we have been in a train of success, while the Romans have had to struggle with every difficulty. Whatever could be done by the skill of your general, has been provided for you. Fens and marshes are the spot, where you are to engage. The depths and shallows are known to you, and they will be the grave of the Romans. The Rhine, and the gods of Germany, are before you. In their view, and under their protection, rush on to the charge; and let each man remember, that on his sword depends the welfare of his parents, his wife, his children, and the liberty of his country. This day, my friends, this important day will either prove us the glorious rivals of our famed forefathers, or send down our names with disgrace and infamy to the latest posterity.” The Barbarians, according to their custom, applauded by clanking their arms (*a*),  
and

and dancing in wild distortion. They rushed on to the attack, discharging a volley of stones, and leaden balls, and other missile weapons. By this artifice, they hoped to bring on an engagement in the fens; but the Romans, aware of the stratagem, remained on the solid ground.

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XVIII. THE Barbarians exhausted their store of darts, when, the battle growing warm, they could no longer restrain their ardour. They rushed forward with impetuous fury. Their huge stature gave them every advantage. With their long spears they were able to goad and pierce the Romans, who with difficulty kept their footing on the slippery soil. A band of Bructerians had the spirit to quit the dam erected across the Rhine, and swim to the shore. The Romans were thrown into disorder. The auxiliary cohorts began to give way, when the legions advanced to sustain the fight, and stopped the progress of the enemy. The battle was now on equal terms. In that moment, a Batavian deserter informed Cerealis, that a party of cavalry might with ease wheel round the marsh, and at the further extremity attack the enemy in the rear. The ground, he said, was, in that part, dry and firm, and there the Gugernians might be taken by surprise. Two squadrons of horse, with the deserter for their guide, reached the place, and surrounded the enemy. A shout of victory gave notice of this advantage. The legions, at the same time, charged in front. The Barbarians fled with precipitation towards the Rhine. Had the fleet been put in motion to second the operations of the army, that day would have closed the war. The approach of night, and a sudden storm of rain, hindered the cavalry from mixing in the action.

XIX. ON the following day, the tenth legion being arrived from Spain, Cerealis detached the fourteenth to reinforce Annus



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Gallus (*a*) in the upper province. Civilis at the same time was reinforced by the Chaucians; but even with those succours, he did not think himself in force to protect the Batavian cities (*b*). Content with carrying off whatever was portable, he set fire to the rest, and retired to the island. The Romans, he well knew, could not follow him without throwing up a bridge, and for that purpose they had no boats in readiness. As a further security, he had the precaution to destroy the great dam (*c*) formerly laid across the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, leaving the river, thus freed from obstruction, to flow in its natural channel towards the confines of Gaul. The consequence was, that, the current taking a new course, the body of water, which separated the island from the main land, sunk into a scanty stream, and the space between Germany and Batavia seemed to be one continued continent. Tutor and Clafficus passed over the Rhine, followed by no less than a hundred and thirteen Treverian senators (*d*). Alpinus Montanus, the deputy sent, as above mentioned, from Cremona by Antonius Primus to the states of Gaul, was one of the number. He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinus. These men dispersed themselves among the neighbouring nations, urging every topic that could excite compassion; and, by their gifts and presents, in a country fond of tumult and commotion, they raised considerable levies.

XX. CIVILIS found himself in a condition to rekindle the war. He formed four divisions of his army, with intent to attack on one and the same day the Roman cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions at four different posts; the tenth legion at Arenacum (*a*); the second at Batavodurum; and the auxiliaries in their entrenchments at Grinnes (*b*) and Vada. In this enterprize, Civilis headed one of the divisions; Verax, his sister's son, led the second; Clafficus and Tutor had their separate commands. In these

these several attempts, complete success was not expected; but where much was hazarded, the issue in some quarter might be prosperous. The enemy knew that Cerealis was not an officer of the strictest caution; and therefore hoped, that, while he was distracted by different tidings, and, by consequence, obliged to hasten from one post to another, he might be somewhere intercepted on his march. The party, destined to storm the quarters of the tenth legion, judging it an enterprise of too much danger, desisted from the project; content with falling on such as were employed at a distance from the camp in hewing wood for the use of the army. In this attack, the præfect of the camp, five principal centurions, and a few soldiers, were cut to pieces. The rest took shelter within the entrenchments. At Batavodurum the push of the enemy was to destroy a bridge, which the Romans had in part constructed over the river. A fierce engagement followed, but the approach of night left it undecided.

XXI. THE attack at Vada, under the conduct of Civilis, and at Grinnes, led on by Classicus, were attended with greater danger to the Romans. At each place the assault was made with resistless fury. The best and bravest of the soldiers perished on the spot. Among them fell Briganticus, at the head of a squadron of horse; a man, as already stated, distinguished by his zeal in the service of Rome, and his avowed hatred of Civilis his uncle (*a*). While the Romans were pressed on every side, Cerealis, with a select body of cavalry, came up to their relief. The fortune of the day was instantly changed. The Germans in a panic plunged into the river. Civilis attempted to stop their flight. His person being known, a shower of darts was discharged against him. He quitted his horse, and saved himself by swimming across the river. The Germans escaped by the same expedient. Tutor and Classicus were conveyed away in boats. The Roman fleet,

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fleet, notwithstanding positive orders, failed again to co-operate with the land forces. Several of the mariners were dispersed on different duties, and fear restrained the rest. It was the constant fault of Cerealis never to allow due time for the execution of his orders. His designs were always sudden, but the issue crowned him with glory. Where his conduct was liable to censure, fortune seemed willing to repair his error. Success made him overfanguine, and, by consequence, discipline fell into neglect. It was but a few days after this victory that he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. His address saved him from the hands of the enemy, but not from the disgrace of his own misconduct.

XXII. He had been as far as Bonn and Novesium to inspect the camps then carrying on at those places, for the winter quarters of the legions. He chose to return by water. Among the troops that followed his boats along the banks of the Rhine, no order was observed, no discipline, no night watch. The Germans saw their negligence, and took their measures accordingly. They chose a night remarkably dark, and sailed down the river. They landed without opposition, and rushed immediately to the entrenchments. They began with art and stratagem. They cut the cords of the tents, and butchered the men, as they lay struggling under the load. Another party, in the mean time, attacked the fleet. They fastened their grappling instruments, and began to hawl off the vessels. Their first approach was conducted in silence; but the slaughter was no sooner begun, than, to increase the terror, they rent the air with shouts and savage uproar. Roused by the anguish of their wounds, the Romans started from their beds; they grasped their arms, and ran wild about the avenues of their camp; some completely armed, but the greatest part with their clothes thrown on in their hurry, and their swords in their hands. Cerealis, half asleep, and almost

almost naked, owed his safety to a mistake. The Barbarians saw the prætorian ship with a flag displayed, and, from that circumstance inferring that the general was on board, took possession of the vessel. Cerealis had passed the night in another quarter. A woman from the country of the Albians, known by the name of Claudia Sacrata, had attracted his notice; and the report of the army was, that, when the attack began, he was happy in her embrace. The sentinels, who had neglected the duty of their watch, made an excuse that did no honour to the general. That they might not disturb his rest, their orders were to observe the strictest silence, and, by consequence, making no signal, and using no watch-word, they themselves were overpowered with sleep. It was broad day-light when the Germans failed back, leading with them the captured vessels, and among them the prætorian galley, which they afterwards sent by the river Luppia (*a*), as a present to Veleda.

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XXIII. CIVILIS had the ambition to display his naval armament. For this purpose he equipped all the vessels that carried two ranks of oars, or even one. To these he added a prodigious number of small craft, among which were thirty or forty fitted out like the Roman Liburnian galleys. The vessels lately taken from the Romans carried sails made with German mantles, and, with their diversity of colours, presented a spectacle not unpleasing to the eye. The place chosen for this naval show was the vast bay, resembling a sea, where the Rhine discharges itself through the mouth of the Meuse (*a*) into the ocean. For fitting out this fleet Civilis had two motives; one, to gratify the national vanity of the Batavians; the second, more important, to intercept the provisions sent from Gaul for the use of the Roman army. Cerealis, at the sight of this unexpected parade,



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parade, was struck with wonder; but nothing could shake his resolution. He prepared to meet the Barbarians on their new element. He ordered out his fleet, inferior in number, but in the skill of the mariners, the experience of the pilots, and the size of the vessels, greatly superior. The Romans failed with the current; the enemy had the wind in their favour. A flight engagement followed. The two fleets exchanged a flight of darts; they passed each other, and parted. This was the last effort of Civilis. He gave up all hope, and retired beyond the Rhine. Cerealis laid waste the isle of Batavia, leaving, however, the lands and houses of Civilis free from injury. This policy is not unusual among general officers. It was now the latter end of the autumn; the rainy season set in, and the river, swelled above its banks, caused an inundation throughout the island. The face of the country, naturally low and swampy, presented a vast sheet of water. No ships were at hand; the army was distressed for provisions; and the tents and baggage were washed away by the flood.

XXIV. CIVILIS asserted afterwards, that the Roman army, in this juncture, might have been utterly destroyed, and that the Germans actually intended it, if he himself had not diverted them from the enterprise. The surrender of that chief, which followed soon after, made this account not improbable. Cerealis, by his secret agents, offered terms of peace to the Batavians; he tempted Civilis with a promise of pardon; and to Velea and her family he held forth the advantages to be gained by terminating a war, which brought nothing but slaughter and calamity. “Her best policy,” he said, “would be to entitle herself, by some meritorious act, to the favour and protection of Rome. The Treverians were cut to pieces, the Ubians  
“submitted,

“ submitted, and the Batavians were expelled from their country.  
“ By the friendship of Civilis Germany had gained nothing but  
“ slaughter, ruin, and the desolation of families. Where is Ci-  
“ vilis now? He roams about, a helpless wanderer, destitute of  
“ means, a burthen to his friends. After passing the Rhine so  
“ often, the Germans may now be satisfied. Fresh hostilities  
“ would add to their guilt. The insolence and the crime would  
“ be on their side; on that of Rome, the indignation of the  
“ legions, and the vengeance of the gods.”

XXV. WITH this menacing strain Cerealis had the art to intermix soothing promises. The nations beyond the Rhine were weary of war. The Batavians began to open their eyes. “ To persist,” they said, “ were to provoke their utter ruin. “ A single nation could not undertake to deliver the world from “ bondage. By the slaughter of the legions, and the destruction “ of the Roman camps, what had been gained? New legions, “ with greater vigour and superior numbers, were poured in “ upon them. If the war was waged for Vespasian, that end “ was answered: Vespasian is master of the empire. If to “ oppose the Roman people was the real object, the Batavians “ are but a handful of men, unequal to the task. Let us turn “ our eyes to Rhætia, to Noricum, and the other allies of Rome. “ They are loaded with various imposts. From the Batavians “ Rome exacts no tribute: men and valour are all she asks. “ This may be called a state of freedom; at the worst, it borders “ on civil liberty. And if we are to choose who shall rule over “ us, is it not more honourable to submit to the emperor of “ Rome, than, like the Germans, to bear the infamy of a female “ reign?” Such was the reasoning of the Batavian people. The nobles of the country charged every thing to the account of



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Civilis: “ By his headlong violence they were hurried into the  
 “ war. In the miseries of his country that restless chief hoped  
 “ to find a remedy for his ruined fortunes. In evil hour the  
 “ Batavians were advised to besiege the legions, and to murder  
 “ the commanding officers: the gods, in that moment, de-  
 “ nounced their vengeance on the whole nation. The war was  
 “ necessary for one man, and it has been the ruin of his country.  
 “ We are now on the brink of destruction: repentance may ex-  
 “ piate our guilt, and, by delivering up the author of all cala-  
 “ mity, we may atone for past misconduct.”

XXVI. CIVILIS knew the temper of his countrymen, and took his measures to prevent the blow. A long train of adversity had sunk the vigour of his mind; and the love of life, a passion which often enervates the noblest minds, began to exert its influence. He desired a conference. Cerealis granted it. The bridge over the Wahal (*a*) was broken down in the middle. The two chiefs advanced to the extreme points. In that situation Civilis spoke as follows: “ Were I to plead my cause  
 “ before an officer in the interest of Vitellius, I should give  
 “ myself up as lost. Pardon I should not expect, nor would  
 “ any credit be given to what I have to offer. Vitellius and I  
 “ were mortal foes. We acted with open, with avowed hosti-  
 “ lity. The quarrel was begun by him; it was inflamed by  
 “ me. With Vespasian I lived on other terms; my respect  
 “ for his person has long been known. While he was yet a  
 “ private man, he ranked me in the number of his friends.  
 “ Antonius Primus knew our connection. By letters from that  
 “ officer (*b*) I was urged to kindle the flame of war. I was  
 “ desired to find employment for the German legions and the  
 “ states of Gaul, that none might pass over the Alps into Italy.

“ The advice of Antonius, communicated by his letters, was  
“ seccuded by Hordeonius Flaccus in person. I complied with  
“ their wifhes : I appeared in arms, and did in Germany what  
“ was accomplished by Mucianus in Syria, by Aponius in Mæfia,  
“ and by Flavianus in Pannonia (c).” \* \* \* \* \*

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# A P P E N D I X.

I. **I**N the interview with the Roman general, Civilis endeavoured, by an artful apology, to disguise and palliate his own conduct. He had pretended in the beginning of the war that he took the field in the service of Vespasian; and his efforts, he now contended, were no way inferior to the Roman officers, who, in different parts of the world, exerted themselves with zeal and ardour in the same cause. He claimed the merit of having found employment in Germany for the legions devoted to the interest of Vitellius; he had carried his victorious arms to their very camp, and there obliged them to capitulate. An irruption into Italy was prevented by the vigour of his operations, and the oath of fidelity to Vespasian was enforced by his orders. He complained that those important services were by his enemies invidiously called acts of rebellion. But thus accused, and thus calumniated, could it be expected that, in such a juncture, he should sheath the sword, and, by an ignominious surrender, take upon him a load of guilt? Pusillanimity and mean compliance would have been treachery to himself. He must have incurred the contempt of the legions; but he chose by warlike enterprise, and by his valour in the field, to gain their applause. In the distraction of the times many things happened on both sides, rash, impetuous, and perhaps not to be justified. But where all were blameable, to settle the measure of particular guilt

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guilt seemed, in his opinion, to be a fruitless enquiry. He added, that the Batavians had been at all times the faithful allies of Rome: while they were considered in that light, and not treated as a vanquished people, they were willing to maintain their old attachment with unshaken constancy. Their arms, their men, their valour were ready in the service of the empire. These, he said, were the sentiments of his countrymen; they were his principles, and the rule of his conduct. Having been the adviser of the oath to Vespasian, he was now the mediator of a general peace.

II. CEREALIS heard the Batavian chief with calm attention. He went to the meeting with a pacific disposition; and, having nothing so much at heart as a compromise of all differences, he did not amuse himself with a petty controversy about inferior matters, at that time of no weight or consequence. He scorned to take notice of the fallacy with which Civilis attempted to colour his own seditious violence; and, in order effectually to restore the public tranquillity, he declared himself willing to bury all past transactions in total oblivion. Peace was established, and that part of the empire remained free from war and civil commotions.

Civilis, from that time, lost all weight and influence with his countrymen. They considered him as the fierce incendiary, who had kindled up the flame of discord, and the author of a wide-wasting war, in which both nations saw the destruction of camps, the desolation of cities, and the slaughter of armies. Cerealis was soon after sent to command in Britain. He succeeded Vettius Bolanus, and, by his warlike spirit, revived the lustre of the Roman name, which had been impaired by the inactive genius of his predecessor.

The

Peace being finally concluded with the Batavians, the Lingones and other states of Gaul laid down their arms. The people saw that they were victims to the pride and wild ambition of their chiefs, and all were willing to end a bloody and destructive contest, in which desolation was the only consequence of victory. Tranquillity was restored in that part of the empire, but the troubles in Mæsia were not so easily quelled. That country continued to be the theatre of war. The Sarmatians had made an irruption, with the ferocity usual among Barbarians; and having two passions to gratify, their love of plunder, and their savage delight in blood, they marked their way with carnage and destruction. A detail of their operations cannot now be given. History has transmitted no memorial of those transactions. All we know is, that Fonteius Agrippa, the proconsul of Mæsia, was defeated in a pitched battle, and fell with honour amidst heaps of slain (*a*). Soon after that disaster, Rubrius Gallus was sent by Vespasian to undertake the conduct of the war. That officer restored military discipline, and revived the spirit of the legions. He fought the Barbarians in their fastnesses, and defeated them in every encounter; hanging always upon their rear, till, at length, he chased them out of the province, and obliged them to repass the Danube. His next care was to secure the country from future incursions. For that purpose he built a chain of forts on the frontier, and, leaving a strong garrison at every post, gave an effectual check to the inroads of those fierce invaders.

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III. ROME had now no war upon her hands, except that in Judæa, under the conduct of Titus. The victories obtained by Vespasian, and the rapid success with which he over-ran the whole province of Galilee, have been already stated (*a*). That

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commander knew the early genius of his son; and having decided proofs of his valour and military talents, he thought proper, when his own affairs called him into Ægypt, to leave Titus to reap the glory of ending the war by the conquest of Jerusalem. Tacitus has described Titus at the head of a numerous army, inspiring the soldiers with zeal and ardour by his own example, and winning all hearts by his amiable manners (*b*). We have seen him encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, throwing up towers, and preparing for the operations of a regular siege; and there, unfortunately, Tacitus leaves us. The rest of the great historian's work has perished. The loss can never be repaired; but an event so truly interesting, ought not to be passed by in silence. The Jewish war, abstractedly from its connexion with religion, presents a series of calamities, and a scene of blood and carnage, that cannot be equalled in the records of any other nation. We have before us an infatuated race ripe for destruction, and by their own folly provoking the vengeance of a great and warlike nation, while internal divisions, civil discord, party rage and madness, conspire with a foreign force to accelerate the destruction of their whole nation: we see a city so strong by nature and art, that it was deemed almost impregnable, burnt to the ground, and near eleven hundred thousand inhabitants perishing in the flames; a temple, in its form and structure the wonder of the world, razed to its foundation; a people driven from their native land, dispersed all over the globe to exist in wandering tribes, but to find no place where they could again become a people under their own plan of polity. These are important events; and they become more striking, when it is considered that they were foretold by Christ himself forty years before the dreadful catastrophe, in which the immediate finger and wrath of God were manifestly displayed.

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IV. THE natural causes which led to the destruction of Jerusalem, have been in some degree explained already, but may with propriety be retouched in this place, when we are entering on a siege that terminated in the ruin of a devoted people. The mad ambition of Caligula to have his statue placed in the Temple, was the first occurrence that roused the indignation of the Jews, and kindled the flame of discord throughout the nation. The death of Caligula prevented an immediate war, but did not appease the jealousy of a discontented people, who were not only determined that the images of deified emperors should never disgrace their temple, but would not so much as suffer the likenesses of the Cæsars to be brought into their territories. Of this zeal Josephus relates a remarkable instance. He tells us, that when Vitellius, the governor of Syria, was preparing to march his army through a part of Judæa, in order to attack the Arabs, the chief of the Jews objected to the measure, alleging that the colours of the legions were crowded with profane images, which the laws did not allow to be seen in their country. The Roman general yielded to the remonstrance, and ordered his legions to pursue a more circuitous way. And yet this condescension did not satisfy the Jewish mind. The seed-plots of a revolt were laid; and Felix, the brother of Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius, by oppression, rapine, and every species of cruelty, helped to spread a general spirit of revolt. Gessius Florus, who by his interest with Poppæa obtained from Nero the post of governor of Judæa, found the province in a state of tumult and distraction. His conduct added fuel to the flame. Avarice was his ruling passion. Resolved to aggrandize himself, and accumulate immoderate riches, he practised every species of iniquity, till the people, fired with indignation, broke out into open rebellion. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, assembled a nu-

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merous army, and penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country, even to the walls of Jerufalem: but war was not his talent: he abandoned the siege, and fled with precipitation. The Jews hung on his rear, and defeated him in every skirmish. According to Josephus, they took an eagle from one of the legions, and in the pursuit cut off no less than six thousand of the Roman army. Cestius did not long survive the disgrace. He died of grief; and the government of Syria was given to Mucianus, who afterwards took an active part in the elevation of Vespasian to the imperial dignity. But the Jewish war required a commander who should make that business the only object of his attention. Nero, for the reasons which have been already mentioned, gave that commission to the man who was even then destined to be emperor of Rome (*a*). In the space of two summers, the victorious general subdued the whole country, and made himself master of every strong hold and fortified city, except Jerufalem, which was reserved to crown Titus with immortal glory.

V. TACITUS has described the city of Jerufalem and the Temple; but perhaps, with the advantage of D'Anville's plan, a more distinct idea of the place may now be given. The city stood upon two hills, namely, Mount Sion to the south, and Acra to the north. The former, being the loftiest, was called the upper, and Acra the lower city. The walls of each were washed on the outside by a broad and rapid stream, that rushed like a torrent from west to east, through the valleys of Hinnon and Cedron, to the foot of the Mount of Olives. The famous Temple stood on a third hill called Mount Moriah, which on the eastern side was bounded by the valley of Cedron. A fourth hill, to the north of the Temple, was, in process of time, enclosed within

within the fortifications ; and there the Jews, abounding in numbers, built another city. The new quarter was called Bezetha. Josephus says the circumference of the whole city was three-and-thirty stadia, computed by D'Anville at about three thousand three hundred paces. Art conspired with the natural situation to make the works almost inaccessible. A wall of great strength and prodigious elevation surrounded Sion, extending along the north and west sides of the hill, and, being carried eastward, separated it from Mount Acra. Mount Acra was enclosed by another wall which stretched to the north, and then diverging towards the east, ended at Fort Antonia. The third wall defended the Temple to the east. These fortifications were further strengthened by towers built with consummate skill, as may be seen in the description given by Tacitus (*a*). Five of the towers were distinguished by their strength and magnificence. The first was the tower Psephina, an octagon building seventy cubits high, commanding a prospect of Arabia towards the east, and, on the western side, a view of Palestine and Phœnicia to the margin of the sea : the other four were built by Herod, who was placed on the throne by Marc Antony. From motives of gratitude to his patron, Herod called one of his new structures the Tower Antonia. The other three he dedicated to the persons whom he most esteemed, and, to do them honour, made use of their names : Hippichos was his dearest friend ; Phasaël was his brother ; and Mariamne, it is unnecessary to say, was the wife whom he loved to distraction, and in his fury murdered, while he adored her (*b*).

The Temple of Jerusalem was an immense fabric, divided by a number of courts, and surrounded with porticos and magnificent galleries, which were, in fact, so many fortifications, that  
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made it look, as Tacitus observes (*c*), more like a citadel than a religious sanctuary. The place of worship, or the Temple properly so called, stood in the centre, detached from all other buildings: the inside was divided by a veil or curtain into two parts, one of which was the Holy of Holies. The outward space was filled with buildings appropriated to religious ceremonies, and the dwelling of the priests and others, who officiated at the altar. A large court, encompassing those several buildings, was called the Court of the Gentiles, who were allowed to enter that part, but strictly excluded from the sanctuary. The whole of this vast quadrangle, according to Josephus, was six stadia, or three quarters of a mile round: as D'Anville computes it, the circumference was still greater.

VI. THIS great and opulent, but devoted city, was now the last receptacle of the Jewish nation. The people saw the progress of the Roman arms; all Galilee over-run by the conqueror, their fortresses stormed, and their armies routed in every engagement. In that alarming crisis, all degrees and orders of men abandoned their habitations, and fled for shelter to Jerusalem. The celebration of the Passover, which was then near at hand, attracted prodigious multitudes to pay their worship. It is, notwithstanding, probable that Josephus exaggerates, when he tells us that the besieged in the city amounted to three millions; Tacitus says, six hundred thousand. If from the last number we deduct women and children, with the aged and infirm, there will still remain a vast warlike force to man the works, and repel the approaches of the enemy. What added to the difficulties which Titus had to encounter, was the desperate resolution of men during the whole war enured to carnage, and to the natural obstinacy of the Jewish temper uniting the madness of enthusiasm.

fiafm. They were taught by their false prophets, that the Lord of Hosts would fight their battles, and deliver them from a foreign yoke. The predictions that relate to the coming of the Messiah, were not understood as promising a Redeemer to free the world from the bondage of sin, and send forth the light of truth from Judæa: as Tacitus observes, they expected an heroic conqueror, who should march at the head of their armies, and extend the dominion of the east over all foreign nations. But the Jewish mind was not to be enlightened. The Divine vengeance had been declared with awful denunciations; they had been told that *their enemies should cast a trench around them, and not leave one stone upon another*. The celebrated Bossuet, in his discourse on Universal History, confirms the account of portents and prodigies, as related by Tacitus (*a*). “And what (says he) could be so alarming a signal of the impending wrath of Heaven, as the hollow murmur heard by the priests in the sanctuary, and the voice that issued from the Holy of Holies, *Let us leave this place!* It was manifest that the Temple was abandoned by God and his Angels.” The same excellent author relates another phænomenon, which either was a miracle, or might have been considered by the people as an awful warning. Four years before the war with the Romans, a common peasant began, on a sudden impulse, to cry out, “A voice from the east! A voice from the west! A voice from the four quarters of the world! A voice against Jerusalem! against the Temple, and all new-married brides and bridegrooms! A voice against the whole body of the people!” From that time he never ceased day and night to repeat, “Woe to the people! Woe to Jerusalem!” No other words came from his lips. In the Temple, at all religious ceremonies, he uttered the same dreadful menace. He was seized, and dragged before the magistrate: to

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every interrogatory his answer was, "Woe to Jerusalem!" He was ordered to be whipt, and then turned adrift as a wild enthusiast. He rambled about the country, visiting every city, and in his fits of transport uttering the same terrible prediction, straining his voice to the utmost pitch, yet not enfeebling it. When the war broke out, he went on with the same enthusiasm, proclaiming vengeance, and, with crowds of his countrymen, returned to Jerusalem. The siege being formed, he fixed his eyes on the walls, exclaiming with vehemence, "Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! Woe to the people!" He added at last, "Woe to myself!" and, in that moment, a stone from a battering engine struck him dead on the spot. The name of this man, says Bossuet, was Jesus; and it may be, that since the first who offered grace and mercy, and eternal life, expired on the cross, the second of the name was ordained to denounce the ruin of the whole nation.

VII. THOUGH the Jews by their rashness involved themselves in a war with a great and powerful empire, it may be truly said that Jerusalem was destroyed by their own hands, not by the Roman arms. They had called down the vengeance of Heaven by the worst iniquities, and, to complete their utter destruction, were still abandoned to the vices that provoked their fate. False prophets, as had been foretold, imposed on the deluded people. Heresies sprung up and multiplied; new doctrines were propagated; and by consequence various sects were formed; all, as usual among schismatics, envenomed against each other. Religious dissensions engendered civil discord; and Judæa, rent and torn by contending factions, became a theatre of horror, rapine, and mutual slaughter. By the contest between Vespasian and Vitellius, which began in the year of Rome 822, the Jews gained some respite from the operations of a victorious enemy; but they had not

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the wisdom to employ the interval in preparations for another campaign. Three powerful factions divided the whole nation; and, as usual, when the infatuated multitude claim a right to exercise what is called the sovereignty of the people, each faction was under the management of a leader or a chief, who was admired for his eloquence and superior talents. But eloquence without integrity is a frivolous talent: it has been properly called lip-wisdom. The three demagogues knew the popular arts by which the rabble is generally influenced. The public good was their pretext, but their own private ambition was the exciting motive, the cause of all their actions. They talked of the independent spirit of their nation, and the glory of resisting the Roman legions; but while they railed at slavery, their own domination was the object in view.

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Of these three tyrants Eleazar was the first in point of time. When Cestius, as already mentioned, encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, he had put himself at the head of a strong party, who assumed the name of Zealots, and made himself master of the Temple. John of Giscala saw the strength of that faction, and had the address to insinuate himself into their clubs or political meetings. He had a wonderful flow of words, and was soon admired as a consummate orator. An artful concealer of his sinister purposes, he knew how to gloss and decorate his speeches with well-acted zeal for the public good. He drew over to his party a number of the most active Zealots, and formed a league that soon grew formidable to Eleazar. Strong as his confederacy was, he was not able to make himself master of the Temple; but the city, as if taken by conquest, fell under his absolute dominion. Enured, before he entered Jerusalem, to the most barbarous cruelties, and the most violent acts of depredation, he continued



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in the city to practise the same horrible outrages, till the people resolved to call in another tyrant to their assistance. This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had raised himself from obscurity by his intrepid courage and the most flagitious crimes. By promising rewards to the free, and freedom to the slaves, he was able to form an army of twenty thousand men. With that force he advanced to the walls of Jerusalem. The citizens, harassed and worn out by the oppressions of John, opened their gates to receive him. Simon entered amidst the acclamations of the rabble. He promised to be the friend of the people. Various conflicts ensued between him and the Zealots. Fierce and obstinate battles were fought; houses were plundered; whole families were put to the sword; and Jerusalem was a scene of blood and massacre. The parties gained alternate victories, but no decisive blow was struck. Eleazar remained in possession of the highest part of the Temple; John maintained his post on Mount Moriah; and Simon commanded in Salem and Bezetha. The Christians, who resided in the city of Jerusalem, finding that Titus was approaching at the head of his army, knew their time to depart. They saw, according to the warning given to them by Christ himself, that desolation was nigh, and, as commanded, fled to the mountains (*a*).

VIII. SUCH was the internal state of Jerusalem when Titus, early in the spring, encamped before the walls. The natural clemency of that amiable prince inclined him to offer terms of capitulation, but he too well knew the obstinacy of a blind and devoted race. An account of the legions and allied forces that went on this expedition has been stated by Tacitus (*a*). The first care of Titus was to form his lines; to level the grounds, and throw up forts and battlements before the walls of the city.

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The legions went to work with alacrity, all contending with emulation to execute the orders of their general. In the midst of these exertions, a sudden burst of lamentation assailed their ears. They looked, and saw advancing, from one of the gates, a wretched band of mourners, stretching forth their hands, and, with hideous cries and dismal shrieks, imploring the protection of the Romans from the barbarous cruelty of their fellow-citizens. The soldiers were touched with compassion. Without waiting for the command of their officers, they went in a body to succour the distressed, and conduct them to their tents. In that moment was seen the treachery of the Jewish character. The notes of grief were changed to warlike shouts. The traitors surrounded the generous soldiers, and, brandishing their daggers, rushed to the attack with the fury of the vilest assassins. The Romans were massacred on the spot, while a band of Jews on the walls beheld the tragic spectacle with fell delight, and, adding taunts and insult to their perfidy, made a jest of the unhappy victims, who were butchered for their humanity.

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IX. THIS stratagem had the effect of kindling a spirit of revenge throughout the Roman army. Titus in the mean time preserved the even tenour of his happy disposition. To yield to sudden emotions of anger was not in his nature. He weighed all circumstances, and still wished to spare the effusion of blood. He saw a deluded people who, by open rebellion, had provoked the Roman arms, and, though pent up within their walls, still believed their false prophets, expecting to be masters of universal empire; he knew that they were distracted by intestine factions; that, under the direction of their chiefs, the assassin's dagger was every day drenched in blood, and massacre laid waste the city. Titus beheld their misfortunes with an eye of pity:



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willing to sheathe the slaughtering sword, he offered a general pardon ; but in vain ; the whole nation was infatuated and ripe for destruction.

The Roman soldiers, eager to begin the attack, carried on their works with unabating vigour. Mounds were thrown up ; forts were built ; and battering rams and other warlike engines were advanced to the walls. The first impression was made on Salem, or the lower city, on the north-west side of Jerusalem. Simon commanded in that quarter : his sword, which had been till then employed against his fellow-citizens, was at length turned against the besiegers. He exerted his most strenuous efforts, and by his example inspired his men with undaunted resolution. But the vigour of the legions was irresistible. Darts, and fire-brands, and other missile weapons, were thrown into the town with incessant fury ; stones of enormous weight were discharged from a number of engines ; and the besieged were driven from the ramparts. In the heat of the engagement Titus received a wound in his shoulder, of which he felt the symptoms during the rest of his life ; but danger served only to animate his warlike spirit. The soldiers followed the example of their general. The battering rams opened a breach in the walls ; the conquering troops rushed in sword in hand, and took possession of Salem. This was on the fifteenth day of the siege. It was soon perceived that by their success they had gained a perilous situation. They were exposed to the engines of the enemy from Bezetha, and the Tower of Antonia on the north, from the Temple on the east, and from Sion on the south. But to confront every danger was the maxim and the practice of the legions. They maintained the conflict five days successively, and surmounted every difficulty. Titus entered Bezetha at the head of two thousand men.

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X. THE Jews fled in consternation; and if the Romans had been allowed to pursue their advantage, that day might have ended the siege. But Titus paused in the moment of victory. Clemency resumed her influence. He ordered his men to give quarter to all that laid down their arms. The runaways took shelter in the Tower Antonia. It might have been expected that the humanity of Titus would have softened the rigour of the Jewish mind. It had a contrary effect. The infatuated people could not suppose that virtue was his motive. His conduct was imputed to despair and cowardice. John and Simon agreed, for the first time, to carry on their operations with a spirit of union. They collected their numbers, and poured down to the attack with impetuous fury. Titus saw the danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, and, with that presence of mind which never deserted him, resolved at once not to hazard the lives of his men for the vain glory of their general. He had gained a victory; but prudence required that he should, for the present, resign all his advantages. He founded a retreat, and returned to his camp.

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XI. THE preparations necessary for a second assault employed the legions during the four following days. The interval was dreadful to the Jews. Internal dissensions broke out with redoubled fury. Simon considered the retreat of the Romans as a complete victory, and made no doubt but that in a short time they would raise the siege. Elate with success, he thought it time to think of aggrandizing himself. A man of his disposition knew no way to establish his ill-gotten power, but by wading through scenes of blood. His partisans committed depredations at their will and pleasure, and his assassins drenched their daggers in the blood of all who dared



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dared to lament the miseries of their country. Simon had been raised to his bad eminence by Mathias, a priest, who presided at all public sacrifices; and he now considered the man, to whom he owed an obligation, as a living reproach. He accused his friend of a design to desert to the Romans, and, on that charge, condemned him to death together with his three sons. The venerable old man begged with earnest supplication to be the first victim, that he might not live to see so horrible a spectacle as the murder of his children. The prayer of misery was rejected. The wretched father saw his sons bleed, and, having felt that agony of heart, resigned himself to the executioner.

John, in the mean time, did not think himself established in plenitude of power, while Eleazar still remained in possession of the inner part of the Temple. His ambition could not brook a rival. Eleazar, on the other hand, had no resources to support himself, and his party, but the offerings and first-fruits that were brought to the sanctuary. Those, in contempt of all laws divine and human, he converted to his own use; and, with that view, allowed admittance to all who came to offer their adoration. During the horrors of the siege, sacrifices, libations, and other acts of devotion went on in the Temple; but in the midst of the religious ceremonies, the holy place was deluged with human blood mixed with the gore of slaughtered victims. John was, at length, determined to end the contest with Eleazar. Ambition like his was not to be satisfied with any thing less than the absolute command. Having taken his measures for that purpose, he ordered his band of assassins to mix with the crowd that entered the inner Temple. A dreadful scene of confusion, horror, and murder

der followed. The ruffians, skilled in their trade, threw off their upper garments, and, brandishing their poniards, struck a general panic. The Zealots of Eleazar's party rushed out of the Temple with precipitation. The innocent multitude clung to the altar; but the altar was no longer a sanctuary. All were put to death without distinction. By this horrible stratagem John obtained a complete victory. Eleazar, according to Tacitus (*a*), fell in the general massacre; but, if we believe Josephus, he survived to act for the future under the command of John, who became the ruling chief of the Zealots. The three factions, which prevailed in the beginning of the siege, were, in this manner, reduced to two. John and Simon were now the pretended friends of the people, and the ruin of their country.

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XII. TITUS knew, by sure intelligence, that the cessation of arms, which his preparations rendered necessary, was by the folly and madness of the besieged converted to their own destruction. He exerted himself, notwithstanding, to return to the charge without loss of time. The exertions of the foldiers seconded his most ardent wishes. Having constructed his warlike engines, and taken his measures for the assault, he made his approaches to the breach, which he had already battered, and by an incessant discharge of stones and arrows, and other missive weapons, had kept open, in spite of the efforts of the Jews to repair their fortifications. The legions advanced to the assault with determined bravery. The conflict lasted three days without intermission. On the fourth, the archers and flingers discharged such an uninterrupted volley, that the besieged could no longer maintain their station on the ramparts. The engineers played their battering rams with the greatest skill and success.



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The walls gave way ; and the Romans, in close embodied ranks, were able to cut their way through the breach. The Jews fled for shelter to Sion and Mount Moriah. Titus entered with the conquering troops, and once more took possession of Salem. He ordered all the houses to be levelled to the ground, and marked out the lines of his camp. He filled the towers, that were left standing, with a band of select men, who from that advantageous post would know how to annoy the battlements of the enemy. The whole city was now inclosed within the lines of circumvallation, which Titus had ordered in the beginning of the siege. Salem was completely conquered. The legions extended their ranks as far as the foot of Tower Antonia, and thence to the Mount of Olives, on the north-east side of the Temple. But new difficulties were the consequence of victory. A wide extensive valley lay between the base of Mount Moriah and Bezetha. The Romans, in that situation, were exposed to the slings and engines of the enemy on the summit of Tower Antonia, the Temple, and Mount Sion. To men, who were directly under those forts, or citadels, the height appeared stupendous, and inaccessible. Till towers of equal elevation were raised, there was no way to assault the works, and to batter a breach was impossible. This occasioned a suspension of hostilities for ten days. The labour was immense, and such as would have deterred any forces but a Roman army. The soldiers loved their general, and their ardour rose in proportion.

XIII. THE Jews in consternation saw from their ramparts the towers rising high in air, and the platforms, which were to receive the warlike engines, built with a rapidity that astonished them. They now thought it time to desist from their internal feuds, and the rage of mutual slaughter. The common danger reconciled

reconciled all parties. John and Simon formed an union of councils. They assembled their bravest troops, and, having concerted their plan of operations, made a sally into the city of Salem with their whole strength combined. The Romans were taken by surprise. Despair itself inspired the Jews with courage. Their first impression was not to be resisted. The legions gave ground, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. The Jews pursued them to their entrenchments. The Romans were besieged in their turn. All was uproar, terror, and confusion, till Titus, by his exhortations, by his own example, and by every effort, roused the spirit of his men, and led them on to the charge. The Jews were repulsed. They fled; they were pursued; they were taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The slaughter lasted till night came on, and John and Simon, with their surviving numbers, retreated to their former station.

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XIV. TITUS was now at leisure to raise the necessary batteries, and construct all his works for a grand assault. The besieged, in the mean time, were afflicted with disasters worse, if possible, than their own horrible assassinations. A dreadful famine laid waste the city. The streets were covered with the dead and the dying; old men, women and children stretched forth their hands for sustenance, and expired in the act; the wounded soldiers perished for want of relief; shrieks and groans, and lamentations resounded in every quarter; the surviving wretches envied the fate of those who died first; they lived only to prolong their misery, fixing their eyes on the Temple, and invoking death to end their woes. The rites of sepulture were neglected. It was necessary, however, to remove the dead bodies. John and Simon ordered them to be thrown down the steep into the lower city. Titus went to view the unhappy victims,



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as they lay in heaps under the walls. Shocked at a scene so melancholy and affecting, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and called the gods to witness, that he was not the cause of those dreadful calamities.

John and Simon, the tyrannical authors of every mischief, beheld the distress of the people without remorse or pity. Under their direction, plunder and massacre went on with unrelenting fury. A band of assassins continued prowling about in quest of prey. They searched every house; and where they saw an appearance of health, they seized the wretched family, and dragged them like so many criminals to the rack, in order to make them discover in what secret place they laid up their slender hoard of victuals. The two friends of the people converted every thing to their own use. Distress and misery went on increasing, and deeds that shocked humanity were committed in the face of day. Fathers took the nourishment from their children, and sons seized it from their mothers. In return, a woman of the name of Mary, who, in the beginning of the war, removed with all her substance from beyond the Jordan to take shelter in Jerusalem, committed an outrage that cannot be related without horror. A band of ruffians carried off her little store of corn. Enraged by that act of violence, she seized her infant, then at her breast, and, in despair and phrensy, plunged a poniard in its heart. Nor did she stop there: the cravings of hunger were to be appeased. She cut her babe in pieces, and devoured the fruit of her womb. The smell of victuals soon attracted a banditti of free-booters. They broke into the house; and, though enured to murder, they recoiled with horror at a sight so barbarous and inhuman. The story was soon divulged; it spread through the city, and reached the Roman camp. Titus heard it with astonishment.

nishment. He heaved a sigh, and mourned the lot of humanity. His towers, his platforms, and his warlike engines were completed; his slingers and archers were at their post, and his whole army panted for an opportunity to display their valour; but he himself was still restrained by the tenderness of his nature. He caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed in favour of all, who should make a voluntary surrender; and, at the same time, bound himself by a solemn promise to preserve the city, the temple, and the religion of the people. Numbers embraced the offer, and rushed out of the gates on every side; but the vengeance of Heaven pursued a devoted race. The wretched fugitives, in their way to the Roman camp, passed through the lines of the Arabs, who had lifted under the banners of Titus. A soldier of that nation perceived a Jew discharging the superfluities of nature, and then searching for the gold which he had swallowed before he left the town. That circumstance diffused a notion, that all the Jews had adopted the same stratagem to secrete their money. Full of that idea, the Arabs rushed with fury on the defenceless multitude, and ripped up their bellies to discover their hidden treasure. The Romans followed the example, and a scene of blood and carnage continued, till Titus, fired with indignation, checked the fury of his men, and gave the promised protection to all that escaped the massacre.

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XV. TITUS found that his lenity, instead of making an impression on the Jewish mind, was considered by that obstinate people as a proof of weakness. He determined, therefore, to make one vigorous effort, and let the enemy see the strength and valour of the Roman army. His operations were directed against Fort Antonia. John and Simon no sooner saw the platforms and



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wooden towers advancing towards the walls, than they made a sally with intent to set fire to the works of the besiegers. The Zealots, armed with torches and fire-brands, advanced with eagerness. The legions shewed a firm undaunted countenance. The signal for the attack being given, they charged the enemy in such compact order, that nothing could resist their fury. The conflict did not last long. The Jews were thrown into confusion, and, after a few vain efforts, retreated to their city.

The battering rams were advanced against the tower Antonia. The besieged discharged from their ramparts a volley of stones and other missile weapons. Nothing could deter the Romans. They condensed their shields over their heads, and, having formed a military shell, began to sap the foundation of the walls, while the engineers annoyed the enemy on the upper part of the works. At length the arch of a deep subterraneous cavern, which had been constructed under the eastern side of the tower, fell in at once, and drew after it a great part of the wall in one prodigious ruin. The opening was wide enough for the Romans to enter in wide extended lines ; but, according to Josephus, they stood aghast at the sight of an inward wall, which had been built by the order of John. The historian relates a number of circumstances, that derogate much from our idea of the courage and discipline of a Roman army. Be the fact as it may, the tower Antonia was on the following day taken by storm. The Jews, who escaped the sword, fled in dismay and terror to the Temple, which they considered as a safe asylum, still convinced that a sanctuary, of which the God of Abraham was the protector, would never yield to the Roman arms.

XVI. TITUS had now gained an eminence, from which

4

his

his warlike engines could play with advantage on the enemy. The approaches to the Temple lay exposed to the valour of the legions. His clemency made him suspend his operations. To save the sanctuary, and even to protect the people in the exercise of a religion, which, with every Roman, he condemned as a perverse superstition, was still the wish of his heart. Josephus, who, as the reader will remember (*a*), commanded the garrison at Jotapata in Galilee, and was there taken prisoner by Vespasian, attended Titus during the siege of Jerusalem. Whether he misunderstood the prophecies relating to the Messiah, or misinterpreted them to curry favour with the Roman general, cannot now be known. Tacitus condemns the blind superstition of the Jews, who would not see that the prediction had, as he conceived it, a palpable reference to Vespasian and his son Titus (*b*). Josephus either actually did, or pretended to see it in the same light. Willing to stop the effusion of blood, Titus resolved to send a deputation to the Jewish chiefs; and for that purpose no one seemed so proper as a native of the country, who would know the topics fit to be urged, and by his powers of persuasion might be able to command the passions, and make an impression on the hearts of a deluded people. Josephus undertook that important embassy. He had an interview with John, and has left in his history a detail of all that passed. It will be sufficient, in this abridgment, to observe, that nothing could alter the obstinacy of a blind enthusiast, who by his manifold crimes provoked the wrath of an offended God, and, at the same time, was so infatuated as to expect the divine protection. Josephus, though reviled as a traitor to his country and a slave to the Romans, made use of every argument to open the eyes of the people; he represented to them the horrors of inevitable destruction; heaven and earth combined against their city; and with tears in his eyes

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eyes he exclaimed, “ I see at length, too late I see, that I am  
 “ struggling against the will of God. Titus wishes to save you  
 “ from desolation, and your doom is pronounced above. It is  
 “ God, a powerful, an avenging God, who sends the Romans  
 “ to bury all in ruin. Repentance may still efface your crimes;  
 “ contrition of heart may avert the impending vengeance; save  
 “ yourselves, and your holy city; save your Temple, the won-  
 “ der of the universe; Titus wishes to preserve that noble struc-  
 “ ture; do not be worse enemies to yourselves, than even the  
 “ Romans, who hold the sword over your heads, and still in  
 “ mercy forbear to strike the fatal blow.” He could no more;  
 a flood of tears suppressed his voice; he turned his eyes to the  
 Temple, heaved a sigh, and returned to Fort Antonia.

XVII. TITUS saw that his moderation served only to confirm the hard of heart; and, by protracting the siege, to expose his men to ambuscades, and the danger of sudden skirmishes with a people enured to craft and stratagem. He called a council of war. The principal officers were of opinion, that nothing less than the utter destruction of the Temple would secure a lasting peace. A building, which the Jews themselves had made a theatre of blood, ought not, they contended, to be any longer considered as a place of worship. It was rather a citadel, in which the garrison remained in force; and, since the proffered capitulation was rejected, ought to be given up to the fury of an enraged soldiery. Titus concurred with his officers in every point, except the demolition of the inner part of the Temple. That he still resolved to save; but, as Josephus observes, a superior council had otherwise ordained. God in his justice had decreed the fall of Jerusalem; and Titus, unconscious of his mission, was the agent to execute the will of Heaven.

On

On the following day the general assault began. The Romans advanced under their military shell to the outward wall of the Temple. The Jews sallied out, and a fierce engagement followed. Nothing, however, could break through the close embodied lines of the legions. The besieged gave way, and, finding themselves pursued with impetuous fury, fled for shelter to the inner court. The Romans entered sword in hand. The battle was renewed with redoubled ardour. The combatants were confined to one spot. For the Jews, no room for flight; the Romans fought to end the war. The cries of the dying, and the shouts of the victors, reverberated by the surrounding walls, filled the place with dreadful uproar. The orders of Titus and his officers were no longer heard. The Jews, in some parts, fought with frantic obstinacy. Numbers in despair fled to the sanctuary. There the false prophets still assured them that the Lord of Hosts was on their side. In that instant the besiegers forced the gates. The massy gold and glittering ornaments inspired them with new ardour. The love of plunder conspired with revenge, and Titus exerted himself in vain to restrain their fury. One of the soldiers mounted to the top of the portico, and threw a combustible weapon, which clung to the wood-work, and set fire to the whole building. The Jews saw that all was lost, and in their last agony sent forth the groan of an expiring people. Titus withdrew from the scene of desolation, lamenting that his efforts to save the place were without effect. As he passed along, word was brought to him, that a number of priests stood on the outside wall, imploring him to spare their lives. "It is too late," said Titus; "the priests ought not to survive their Temple." He retired to Fort Antonia; and there beholding the conflagration, and lifting up his hands, exclaimed, with a sigh, "The God of the Jews has fought against them: to him we owe our victory."

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Such was the end of the Temple of Jerufalem ; a magnificent ſtructure, which had ſtood for ages, the pride and glory of the Jews, the place of national worſhip, and the oracle of God. It is remarkable, that this dreadful catastrophe happened on the tenth of Auguſt, the day on which the firſt Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt to the ground, in the year of the world 3416, before Chriſt 587, by Nebuchadnezor, King of Babylon. The ſecond and laſt Temple was built about fifty-two years after that of Solomon was laid in ruins. It had ſtood above fix hundred years, enlarged and embellished from time to time ; but was at length levelled to the ground, to riſe no more, notwithſtanding the attempt of Julian the Apoſtate to rebuild the Temple, and thereby diſcredit the prediction of Chriſt. His mad project failed. So true it is, that *no power can deſtroy what God has' raiſed ; and none can raiſe what he deſtroys*. The ſentence was pronounced above, and not *one ſtone was left upon another (a)*.

XVIII. AN end was not yet put to the war. John and Simon, with a number of their followers, found their way into the upper city on Mount Sion. But the courage of the Jews depended on the preſervation of their Temple. Seeing it in flames, they thought themſelves abandoned by their God, and wanted to ſurrender. Even in that diſtreſs they were ſtill diſtracted by in-teſtine factions. John and Simon declared their fixed reſolution to hold out to the laſt. The ſcene of miſery that followed is not to be deſcribed ; a devouring famine raged in every quarter, and the barbarity of the unrelenting tyrants was not to be appeaſed. In a few days the chiefs ſaw the Romans, with indefatigable labour, advancing their towers, and preparing for a general aſſault. They thought it time to capitulate. Titus promiſed to ſpare their lives, but reſuſed to compromiſe the war on any other terms. He required, in decided terms, an immediate, unequivocal, unconditional

ditional submission; a surrender at discretion. John and Simon received this answer with indignation. The pride of men, who had been so long the tyrants of the people, was too obstinate to bend to the will of a conqueror. They talked of the rights of man, resolved to live independent, or to die with honour in the cause of liberty. They harangued the populace, and bellowed against Titus with the zeal and vehemence of determined patriots; but, in a short time after, they deserted the public in the hour of need, and thought of nothing but their own personal safety. The towers of Hippicos, Phasaël, and Mariamne were almost impregnable. In places of that strength they might have stood at bay for a length of time, and, perhaps have extorted from Titus an honourable capitulation: they might, at least, have shared the fate of a people, whom they had ruined. But their words and actions were at variance. They abandoned the public interest, and basely hid themselves in subterraneous vaults, in hopes of eluding the fury of the conqueror. The legions battered a breach, and entered the city sword in hand. A dreadful carnage followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. According to Josephus, not less than eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. The buildings were set on fire, and, excepting the three towers, the whole city of Sion was laid in ruins. As soon as the rage of slaughter ceased, all that escaped the general carnage were collected together, and disposed of according to their deserts. The most active incendiaries were put to death; some were reserved to grace the victor's triumph; and the rest were sent into Egypt, and sold to slavery.

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In this manner, the city of Jerusalem, which had flourished for ages, was made a wilderness. The Jews, no longer able to subsist as a people, have been, for upwards of seventeen hundred



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years, scattered over the face of the earth, a living monument of divine vengeance.

XIX. WHILE the siege was still depending, Vespasian sailed from Alexandria, and, after a short voyage, landed at Brundisium. He proceeded by slow journeys, without pomp or vain parade, making his approaches to Rome with the air of an humble citizen returning to his family. A prodigious concourse of people of all descriptions came forward to meet him, and the tribe of courtiers buzzed and glittered round him, as usual, offering the incense of adulation. They were received with cold neglect. It was soon perceived, that in the new reign truth would be in fashion (*a*). One of the cities, through which he passed, declared an intention to raise a statue to him at a vast expence. Vespasian held forth his hand, and answered with a smile, "Let this be the base of your statue; place your money here." He entered the city of Rome amidst the acclamations of a people, who had long been harassed by the cruelty of Nero, and expected under a mild and equitable government a respite from their misery.

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XX. VESPASIAN entered on his third consulship in conjunction with Cocceius Nerva, who was afterwards emperor of Rome; two men, who seem to have been, for the noblest purposes, united in office; Vespasian, to instruct his colleague in the arts of government; and Nerva, to prepare himself for a just, an upright, and a virtuous reign. Titus, in the mean time, remained at Mount Sion, surveying with regret the desolation which the legions had made. Addresses of congratulation and crowns of victory were presented to him by deputies from all the neighbouring states: he calmly answered, that  
he

he was the instrument to execute the decrees of Heaven. He gave orders that the three towers on Mount Sion should be left standing, as a monument for posterity, to mark where the city stood, which was laid in ruins by the folly and madness of the inhabitants. Having made all proper arrangements, and left Terentius Rufus, with a legion under his command, to guard Mount Sion and the province of Judæa, he set out, after the example of his father, to make the tour of Egypt.

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John and Simon, as has been mentioned, survived the slaughter of their countrymen; but it was not long before they fell into the hands of the conqueror. John was the first that surrendered. He met with more clemency than was due to a man, whose wild ambition had been the cause of so many dreadful disasters. He was condemned to remain a prisoner for life.

Simon did not meet with equal lenity. His perverse and obstinate resistance served to aggravate his former iniquities, and to fill the measure of his guilt. He had taken refuge in a deep cavern, carrying with him a store of provisions, and a number of workmen with their tools and instruments, with intent to open a passage under ground, and, after collecting together the surviving forces of his countrymen, to appear again in arms against the Romans. But rocks were impenetrable; provisions were exhausted; he began to dread the misery of an approaching famine, and resolved once more to see the light of heaven. Rufus ordered him to be loaded with irons, and in that condition conveyed to Rome, to clank his chains at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.

Meanwhile Titus was received at Memphis with all demon-  
 strations



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strations of joy. It happened, while he remained at that place, that the consecration of an ox, adored under the name of Apis, by the Egyptians, as their national God, was to be celebrated with all the rites of superstition usual on that occasion. Titus was invited to preside at the festival. He yielded to the request of the people, and, in conformity to established usage, wore a regal diadem during the ceremony. Innocent as this transaction was, it did not fail, in a busy city like Rome, to occasion a variety of reports, all founded on vague conjecture and sinister construction. The wisdom of some, and the malignity of others, saw a deep design. Titus, they said, was flushed with the pride of victory; he began to tower above his rank, and to form schemes of ambition. It was not the vanity of a day, that made him assume the regal diadem; it was evident that he aimed at greater things. These reports were wafted with speed across the Mediterranean. Titus heard, with indignation, that his character was blackened, and resolved to make the best of his way to Rome. He arrived at Rhegium over against Sicily, and, embarking there in a trading vessel, sailed to Puteoli: from that place he pursued his journey with all possible expedition, and, without the ceremony of announcing his arrival, flew to Vespasian's apartment, and, throwing his arms around his neck, exclaimed, "I am come, my father; your son is come."

The senate had decreed a triumph for the emperor, and another for Titus. Vespasian chose to wait, till he had a partner to enjoy the glory of the day. They both entered Rome in the same triumphal car. The pomp and magnificence displayed on the occasion exceeded all former splendour. The spoils of war, the wealth of conquered nations, the wonders of art, and the riches of Egypt as well as Jerusalem, presented a spectacle that

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dazzled

dazzled the eye, and filled the spectators with delight and wonder. The colours and ensigns exhibited a lively representation of the Jewish war; the battles that were fought; the cities that were stormed; the towers and temples that were wrapt in flames; all were drawn with art, and decorated with the richest colouring. The prisoners of war formed a long procession. Simon was distinguished from the rest. The well-known ferocity of his character attracted the attention of the multitude, and fixed all eyes upon him. He walked with abated pride, but the traces of guilt and cruelty were still visible in every feature. The triumph stopped at the capital. Simon was seized and dragged to execution on the Tarpeian rock; there to pay the forfeit of his crimes, and fall a victim to his countrymen, whom his atrocious deeds had ruined.

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XXI. IT is not the design of this abridgment to detail the history of Vespasian's reign. It will be sufficient to observe, that he closed the Temple of Janus, having settled a profound peace throughout the Roman world. He and Titus were joint consuls in the year of Rome 825; Vespasian for the fourth time; Titus the second. Their first care was to allay the spirit of party and faction, which had embittered the minds of men in the distractions of the civil war; to reform the manners, give energy to the laws, and teach the military to submit to the civil authority. The records of the old republic, and all the valuable monuments of antiquity, had perished in the flames of the capitol: not less than three thousand brazen tablets, on which were engraved the decrees of the senate, and the acts of the people, were destroyed in that dreadful conflagration. To repair the loss as well as might be, Vespasian ordered diligent search to be made in every quarter for the copies that were known

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to exist; and, after due examination, he deposited the same in the public archives. He rebuilt the capitol; promoted arts and sciences; encouraged men of genius (*a*); and, though his avarice, in many instances, was little short of rapacity, he spared no expence to restore the buildings which had been destroyed by Nero's fire, and, in general, to improve and adorn the city.

These were imperial works, of the highest advantage to the people, and all carried on with vigour that did honour to a patriot prince. It must not be dissembled, that, amidst his public cares, his private conduct was not without a stain. His amorous passions were not subdued by age. A courtesan, of the name of Cænis (*b*), had won his affections, before he married Flavia Domitilla; and, after the death of his wife, she was able to allure him back to her embraces. Her influence was such, that she lived in all the state and grandeur of an empress. She disposed of all favours; granted the government of provinces; and accumulated enormous wealth without any scruple about the means. This, beyond all question, was a blemish in the character of Vespasian; but, happily, he was delivered from the disgrace and obloquy, occasioned by his being the dupe of love in the decline of life. Cænis died in the year of Rome 827; and from that time, the money that was drained by hard exactions from the provinces, was, without reserve, laid out for the use and ornament of the city.

If Titus, after the example of his father, gave a loose to love, it cannot be matter of wonder that he thought youth the season of pleasure and gay enjoyments. His passions broke out without restraint. He passed the night in joy and revelry with a band of  
dissolute

dissolute companions, insomuch that the people began to dread a return of all the vices of Nero's reign. Queen Berenice, whom he saw in Palestine, and was then enamoured of her beauty, lived with him at Rome in the greatest splendour. A report prevailed, that he had bound himself to her by a promise of marriage. This filled the city with discontent and popular clamour. The public voice was loud against so close a connexion between the emperor's son and a princess of the Jewish nation. Titus, at length, saw the current of popular prejudice, and wisely resolved to sacrifice his private pleasures to the interests of the state. Berenice returned to her own country. They parted with mutual reluctance, or, as Suetonius expresses it, with something like the elegant brevity of Tacitus, *Berenicem ab urbe dimisit, invitum invitam* (c). The virtues which made him afterwards the delight of human kind, resumed their influence, and, from that time, inspired all his actions.

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XXII. IN the course of Vespasian's reign, two transactions occurred, which, it must be acknowledged, have left a stain upon his memory. Of these it will not be improper to give a short detail. The first was the death of Helvidius Priscus, who has been often mentioned by Tacitus. That excellent man fell a sacrifice to his enemies, and, perhaps, to his own intemperate conduct. Initiated early in the doctrines of the stoic school, and confirmed in the pride of virtue by the example of Pætus Thrasea, his father-in-law, he saw the arts by which Vespasian, notwithstanding the rigour of his nature, courted popularity; and did not scruple to say, that liberty was more in danger from the artifices of the new family, than from the vices of former emperors. In the senate he spoke his mind with unbounded freedom. Vespasian bore his opposition to the measures of govern-



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ment with patience, and silent dignity. He knew the virtues of the man, and retained a due esteem for the memory of Thrasea. Willing, on that account, to live on terms with Helvidius, he advised him to be, for the future, a silent senator. The pride of a stoic spurned at the advice. Passive obedience was so repugnant to his principles, that he stood more firm in opposition. Mucianus and Eprius Marcellus, who were the favourite ministers of the emperor, were his enemies; and it is probable that, by their advice, Vespasian was at length induced to let the proceedings of the senate take their course. Helvidius was arraigned by the fathers, and ordered into custody. He was soon after banished, and, in consequence of an order dispatched from Rome, put to death. It is said (*a*) that Vespasian relented, and sent a special messenger to respite execution; but the blow was struck. Helvidius was, beyond all question, a determined republican. His own imprudence provoked his fate; and this, perhaps, is what Tacitus had in contemplation (*b*), when he places the moderation of Agricola in contrast to the violent spirit of others, who rush on certain destruction, without being by their death of service to the public.

XXIII. THE case of Eponina was an instance of extreme rigour, or rather cruelty. She was the wife of Julius Sabinus, a leading chief among the Lingones. This man, Tacitus has told us (*a*), had the vanity to derive his pedigree from Julius Cæsar, who, he said, during his wars in Gaul, was struck with the beauty of his grandmother, and alleviated the toils of the campaign in her embraces. Ambitious, bold, and enterprising, he kindled the flame of rebellion among his countrymen, and, having resolved to shake off the Roman yoke, marched at the head of a numerous army into the territory of the Sequani, a people  
in

in alliance with Rome. This was A. U. C. 823. He hazarded a battle, and was defeated with great slaughter. His rash-levied numbers were either cut to pieces, or put to flight. He himself escaped the general carnage. He fled for shelter to an obscure cottage; and, in order to propagate a report that he destroyed himself, set fire to his lurking-place. By what artful stratagems he was able to conceal himself in caves and dens, and, by the assistance of the faithful Eponina, to prolong his life for nine years afterwards, cannot now be known from Tacitus. The account which the great historian promised, has perished with the narrative of Vespasian's reign. Plutarch (*b*) relates the story as a proof of conjugal fidelity. From that writer the following particulars may be gleaned: Two faithful freedmen attended Sabinus to his cavern; one of them, Martialis by name, returned to Eponina with a feigned account of her husband's death. His body, she was made to believe, was consumed in the flames. In the vehemence of her grief she gave credit to the story. In a few days she received intelligence by the same messenger, that her husband was safe in his lurking-place. She continued during the rest of the day to act all the exterior of grief, with joy at her heart, but suppressed with care. In the dead of night she visited Sabinus, and in his arms indulged the transports of her soul. Before the dawn of day she returned to her own house, and, for the space of seven months, repeated her clandestine visits, supplying her husband's wants, and softening all his cares. At the end of that time she conceived hopes of obtaining a free pardon; and having disguised her husband in such a manner as to render a detection impossible, she accompanied him on a long and painful journey to Rome. Finding there, that she had been deceived with visionary schemes, she marched back with Sabinus, and lived with him in his den for nine years longer. Mutual

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love was their only comfort. Her tender affection sweetened the anxieties of her husband, and the birth of two sons was a source of pleasure, even in distress and misery. In the year of Rome 831, they were both discovered, and in chains conveyed to Rome. Vespasian forgot his usual clemency. Sabinus was condemned, and hurried to execution. Eponina was determined not to survive her husband. She changed her supplicating tone, and, with a spirit unconquered even in ruin, addressed Vespasian: "Death, she said, has no terror for me. I have  
 " lived happier under ground, than you upon your throne.  
 " Bid your assassins strike their blow: with joy I leave a world,  
 " in which you can play the tyrant."

She was ordered for execution. Plutarch concludes with saying, that during Vespasian's reign there was nothing to match the horror of this atrocious deed; for which the vengeance of the gods fell upon Vespasian, and, in a short time after, wrought the extirpation of his whole family.

Vespasian died on the twenty-third of June, A. U. C. 832, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after reigning ten years. Titus died on the thirteenth of September, A. U. C. 834, in the forty-first year of his age, after a reign of two years and somewhat more than two months.

Domitian was put to death by a band of conspirators, who were determined to deliver the world from a monster, on the eighteenth of September, A. U. C. 849, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years; a large portion of human life, as Tacitus observes (*c*), in which the people groaned under the cruelty of an unrelenting and insatiate tyrant.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

N O T E S  
O N  
T H E H I S T O R Y.





# N O T E S

ON THE

## FIRST BOOK

OF

## THE HISTORY.

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### *Section I.*

(a) **T**ACITUS computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome to the end of Nero, when the following History begins. The battle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time the reigns of Augustus and the succeeding emperors form a period of 98 years to the end of Nero, who died A. U. C. 821.

(b) The history of Rome to the end of the republic, is emphatically called by Tacitus the history of the Roman people. From the battle of Actium, it is properly the history of the emperors.

(c) Tacitus was, probably, raised to the office of quæstor by Vespasian, and perhaps to the senatorian rank. Under Titus he advanced, in the regular gradation of the magistracy, to the functions either of tribune or ædile; and in the time of Domitian he was one of the quindecimviral college, as well as prætor. See Annals, xi. f. 11.

(d) It is evident from this passage that Tacitus published his History in the reign of Trajan, since Nerva is called the Deified Nerva, and the apotheosis of the emperors was always after their death. Nerva began his reign A. U. C. 849, and died in the year 851, when Trajan succeeded by adoption.

### *Section II.*

(a) The history included the whole time from the first of Galba to the



the assassination of Domitian; and, for that reason, some of the commentators are of opinion that the four princes put to the sword, are Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. Others, observing that the whole of Domitian's reign is lost, adapt their notions to the present state of our author's work, and reckon Piso, who was adopted by Galba, one of the four murdered princes.

(b) The insurrection against Galba was an act of sudden violence; soon begun and ended. The three civil wars were as follows: 1. Otho and Vitellius: 2. Vitellius and Vespasian: 3. Lucius Antonius and Domitian, A. U. C. 845. The account of this last war is lost. All that can be collected at present is, that Antonius, who commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine, formed a league with some of the German nations, and declared war against Domitian. He hazarded a battle with Lucius Maximus, and met with a total overthrow. He was slain in the engagement. Suet. in Domitian, f. vi. The foreign wars that distracted the empire, during the rage of civil commotions, were, one in Judæa, and the other with Civilis, the Batavian chief.

(c) Britain was finally subdued in the reign of Domitian. See the Life of Agricola. It was afterwards neglected and almost lost.

(d) For the Sarmatians and the Suevians, see the Geographical Table.

(e) For more of the pretended Nero, see Hist. ii. f. 8. The Parthians were on the point of declaring war in favour of another impostor, who took the name of Nero in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reign of Domitian, A. U. 841.

(f) The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed by an eruption of the lava of Mount Vesuvius, in the beginning of Titus's reign, A. U. C. 832.

(g) See the conflagration of the Capitol, Hist. iii. f. 67 and 71.

(h) Collectors of the imperial revenue were instituted by the emperors, in order to entrench on the power of the proconsuls, who were the proper officers in all the provinces that remained under the authority of the senate. Informers were raised to the office of imperial procurators,

and obtained weight and influence in the cabinet. *Adepti procurationes et interiorem potentiam.*

(i) The treachery of friends was the scourge and pest of society for several years. Trajan repressed the mischief. See his praise for that public benefit in Pliny's Panegyric, f. 42. *Reddita est amicis fides, liberis pietas, obsequium servis.*

### Section III.

(a) Some of the commentators have objected to the sentiment expressed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls it, *Atrox sententia*. But what is the fair construction? It is this: The crimes of the Roman people were such, that they could no longer expect the protection of the gods. They had drawn down the vengeance of Heaven. Lucan has a similar sentiment:

Felix Roma quidem, civesque habitura beatos,  
Si Libertatis superis tam cura fuisset,  
Quam vindicta placet.

PHARSAL. lib. iv. ver. 107.

See Cicero to the same effect, De Nat. Deorum, lib. iii. f. 32.

### Section IV.

(a) Galba, who was not arrived from Spain.

### Section V.

(a) The prætorian guards had shewn themselves, at all times, firmly attached to the Cæfarean family.

(b) For an account of Nymphidius and his rash ambition, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(c) The rigour, with which Galba supported and enforced military discipline, is stated by Suetonius, in Galba, f. vi.

### Section VI.

(a) For Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(b) For Galba's journey from Spain, the fate of Cingonius Varro, and.



and Petronius Terpilianus, see Appendix to Annals, xvi, and this book, f. xxxvii.

(c) See also in the same Appendix, an account of the slaughter committed near the gates of Rome by Galba's order; and this book, f. xxxvii.

(d) Nero had formed a new legion composed of men draughted from the marines. See this book, f. xxxi.

(e) The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had sent forward on a wild expedition to the straits of the Caspian Sea, were all recalled to quell the insurrection of Vindex in Gaul.

(f) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(g) For the rebellion in Gaul, excited by the enterprising spirit and undaunted courage of Vindex, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.

#### Section VII.

(a) The murder of Fonteius Capito on the Lower Rhine, and of Clodius Macer in Africa, has been related in the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) Galba, at his elevation to the imperial dignity, was seventy-three years old. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

#### Section VIII.

(a) Cluvius Rufus was a writer of history. Pliny the younger says, he told his friend Verginius, If you meet with any thing in my History that gives you offence, you will be so good as to remember, that History must not betray the cause of Truth. You know, replied Verginius, that whatever I have done, it has been ever my wish to have all my actions faithfully related by such a writer as yourself. Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

(b) The people of Gaul, who stood for Vindex, were the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni; for whom see the Geographical Table. The states, that lay near the legions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, were the Lingones and the Remi. See the Geographical Table.

(c) The German armies obtained a complete victory over Vindex at Vefontium. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(d) Verginius commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine. For an account of him and his conduct, see the Appendix to the Annals, xvi. f. xii. When he was recalled by Galba, Hordeonius Flaccus succeeded to the command.

Section IX.

(a) This was Vitellius, whom in the sequel we shall see emperor of Rome. Galba sent him to command on the Lower Rhine, while Hordeonius Flaccus, a man in years, and greatly afflicted with the gout, was likely to remain inactive in the province of Upper Germany. See Suet. in Vitellio, f. 7.

(b) The short reflection of Tacitus on the appointment of Vitellius, is understood two different ways by the commentators. According to some, the true reading is, *Id satis videbatur*, That by Galba was thought sufficient; according to others, *Id fatis videbatur*, The fates ordained it. The last is in the manner of Tacitus, and therefore adopted in the translation.

Section X.

(a) See the History, book ii. f. 1.

Section XI.

(a) It has been mentioned in former notes, that it was the policy of Augustus to keep the management of Ægypt, the great corn-market of Rome, in his own hands. The expression of Tacitus is remarkable; *domi retinere*, to reserve the administration for his own cabinet council. See Annals, ii. f. 59.

(b) Tiberius Alexander is said to be a native of Ægypt; but, to qualify him for the office of governor, he was made a Roman knight. He was probably the same person who is mentioned, Annals, xv. f. 28.

(c) For Mauritania, Rætia, Noricum, and Thracia, see the Geographical Table.

Section XII.

(a) Belgic Gaul began from the Scheld (*L'Escaut*) and extended to



the river Sequana (the *Seine*). The revolt of the legions on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, f. 16.

#### Section XIII.

(a) Icelus, the favourite freedman, has been mentioned in the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. xiii. See Pliny the elder, lib. xxxiii. f. 2.

(b) For Otho's connection with Poppæa, see Annals, xiii. f. 45 and 46.

#### Section XIV.

(a) Suetonius says, *Pisonem Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac sibi olim probatissimum, testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum, repente è mediâ salutantium turbâ apprehendit, filiumque appellans, perduxit in castra, ac pro concione adoptavit.* Suet. in Galba, f. 17. According to this account, Galba was determined in his choice, and did not want the advice of Laco. He adopted Piso from inclination, *propriâ electione*. Plutarch, in the Life of Galba, gives the same account. For an account of Piso's pedigree, see Brotier, 4th edition, vol. iii. page 365.

#### Section XV.

(a) Romulus classed the citizens of Rome in thirty *curias*, and from that circumstance the *Lex Curiata* took its name. The law was enacted by the people assembled in their several *curias*. See Annals, xi. f. 22.

(b) Piso's father, mother, and brother were put to death by Claudius. Another brother (the conspiracy against Nero being detected) opened his veins and bled to death. See Annals, xv. f. 59.

#### Section XVIII.

(a) Thunder and lightning were always considered by the Romans as a warning not to transact public business. *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.* Cicero De Divinatione, lib. ii. f. 18.

(b) According to a military custom, established in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman soldier chose his favourite comrade, and by that tie of friendship all were mutually bound to share every

every danger with their fellows. The consequence was, that a warlike spirit pervaded the whole army. See Livy, lib. ix. f. 39.

Section XX.

(a) See Suetonius, in Galba, f. 15.

Section XXI.

(a) See in Suetonius an account of Otho's circumstances, and his expensive luxury. Otho did not scruple to say, that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial. *Nisi principem se stare non posse; nihilque referre, ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus caderet.* Suet. in Otho, f. 5. See also Plutarch, in the Life of Galba.

(b) Piso had been by Nero ordered into exile, and might probably return with a mind exasperated, and deep-smothered resentment, according to the verses made against Tiberius, during his retreat in the isle of Rhodes.

————— Regnabit fanguine multo

Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

SUET. in TIB. f. 59.

Section XXII.

(a) The character of Otho, as here delineated by the unerring pencil of Tacitus, is finely copied by Corneille in his Tragedy, entitled Otho. A review of the various passages, which are transplanted into the French play, would be an agreeable amusement to every reader of taste, but cannot be comprised within the limits of a note. It will be sufficient to state what Corneille himself has said in the preface to his tragedy. He makes it his boast that he translated as much as he possibly could; and it does not appear that the malignant critics of that day charged him with petty larceny, or railed at him with virulence for the use which he thought proper to make of a great historian. Corneille's words are as follows: *Le sujet de cette tragedie est tiré de Tacite, qui commence ses histoires par celle-ci. Les caracteres de ceux que*



*j'y fais parler, y sont les mêmes que chez cet incomparable auteur, que j'ai traduit tant qu'il m'a été possible.*

Section XXVII.

(a) The place, called *Velabrum*, lay between the Forum and Mount Palatine. The *Millarium aureum* was at the upper part of the Forum. The Temple of Saturn was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.

(b) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 6.

Section XXX.

(a) See Juvenal's description of Otho's effeminacy, and his looking-glass, sat. ii. ver. 99.

Section XXXI.

(a) A portico built by Vipsanius Agrippa in the field of Mars. Horace says,

————— Cum bene notum

Porticus Agrippæ, et Via te conspexerit Appi.

Hor. lib. i. epist. 6.

Section XXXV.

(a) Suetonius says, Galba put on his breast-plate, observing, at the same time, that it would be a poor defence against so many swords. Life of Galba, f. 19. Plutarch relates that the soldier, being asked by Galba who gave him orders, had the spirit to answer, "My oath and my duty."

Section XXXVI.

(a) In every Roman camp the statue of the emperor was placed in the tribunal, at the head quarters of the general. See Annals, xv. f. 29.

(b) The form of the military oath was as follows: *Jurant milites, omnia se strenuè facturos, quæ præceperit imperator; nunquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romanâ republicâ.* Vegetius, lib. ii. cap. 5.

*Section XXXVII.*

(a) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) Polycletus, Vatinius, Helius, and Halotus were favourite freedmen, who rose to wealth and honours in the reign of Nero. For more of Halotus, see Suet. in Galba, f. 15.

(c) Vinius alone had amassed riches enough to discharge the donative, which had been promised to the soldiers by Nymphidius, in the name of Galba, but which was still withheld. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

*Section XLI.*

(a) This was in the Forum, near the Rostra. It has been observed in a former note, that the Pulpit of Harangues was adorned with the beaks of ships, and thence called *Rostra*. For Galba's death and funeral, see Suetonius in Galba, f. 20.

*Section XLII.*

(a) Galba laboured under the weight of crimes committed by his minister, Titus Vinnius, who is said to have been an accomplice in the plot, which was occasioned by his own iniquity.

*Section XLIV.*

(a) On seeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out, This is nothing, my fellow soldiers: bring me the head of Piso. See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

*Section XLVI.*

(a) Flavius Sabinus had been appointed præfect of the city by Nero. The soldiers loved the vices of the former reign, and for that reason continued Sabinus in the same office. For more of Sabinus, see History, ii. f. 74 and 75; and Suet. in Vespasian, f. 1.

*Section XLVII.*

(a) The two consuls, Galba and Vinius, being cut off, the power of convening the senate devolved to the city prætor. See Cicero's Epistles, lib. x. epist. 12.

(b) For



(b) For Verania, the wife of Piso, see Pliny the consul, lib. ii. epist. 20.

(c) Crispina, the daughter of Vinius, bought her father's head at a great price from the hands of assassins. Plutarch, Life of Galba.

#### Section XLVIII.

(a) Calvisius Sabinus, mentioned in this place, was probably the person who, in Caligula's reign, commanded in Pannonia, and, on his return to Rome, was compelled to end his days, A. U. C. 792. His wife Cornelia, whom we find abandoned to her libidinous passions, almost redeemed her character in the last act of her life. She perished with her husband. Seneca talks of a person of the name of Calvisius Sabinus, who, he says, did not know how to enjoy his success in the world with moderation; but whether that was the Sabinus of Tacitus is uncertain. *Nunquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.* Seneca, epist. xxvii.

#### Section L.

(a) The battle of Pharsalia was A. U. C. 706; that of Mutina, between Marc Antony and the consuls Hirtius and Panfa, 711; of Philippi, in the year of Rome 712; and the siege of Perugia, A. U. C. 714.

(b) Vespasian, in the reign of Caligula, was a time-serving flatterer; and, being afterwards overwhelmed with debts, was a man of an equivocal character. See Suet. in Vespas. f. 2, 3, and 4.

#### Section LI.

(a) For the revolt of Vindex, and the overthrow of his army, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

#### Section LII.

(a) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, f. 7.

#### Section LVI.

(a) For Colonia Agrippinensis, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LVII.*

(a) The first legion was probably stationed at *Bonna*. See the Geographical Table.

*Section LIX.*

(a) For the legion called the Italic, see History, ii. f. 6, note (c).

(b) The Taurinian squadron was so called from the Taurini, or people of Turin. See the Geographical Table.

*Section LX.*

(a) For Trebellius Maximus, see Life of Agricola, f. 16.

*Section LXI.*

(a) The vast range of mountains called the Alps, separating Italy from Gaul and Germany, were divided into several parts, which have their distinct names, such as Cottian Alps, Penine Alps, &c. See the Geographical Table.

*Section LXII.*

(a) For the sloth, drunkenness, and other vices of Vitellius, see Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 17.

(b) Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 8.

*Section LXIII.*

(a) For Divodurum, and the Mediomatrici, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXIV.*

(a) The original says, *in civitate Leucorum*; but it should be remembered that *civitas*, as used by Tacitus and other Roman writers, generally implies a state, and not a city in the modern acceptance of the word. For the Leuci, see the Geographical Table.

(b) See this book, f. 59.

(c) This cohort was usually quartered at Lyons. See Annals, iii. f. 41.



## Section LXV.

(a) For the animosity that subsisted between the people of Lugdunum (*Lyons*) and the city of Vienne, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi; and for Vienne, see the Geographical Table.

(b) The people of Lyons waged war against Vindex, and on that account Galba made them feel his resentment.

(c) The cities of Lyons and Vienne were separated by the river Rhodanus; now the *Rhone*.

(d) The people of Vienne favoured the revolt of Vindex. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

## Section LXVI.

(a) Olive branches and sacred vestments were usually displayed in cases of distress, when the conquered sued for mercy. So we read in Livy: *Ramos oleæ ac velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orare, ut reciperent sese, receptosque tutarentur*. Livy, lib. xxiv. f. 30.

## Section LXVII.

(a) The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extensive than what is now called Switzerland. The people are celebrated by Julius Cæsar for their military virtue, and constant warfare with the Germans. *Helvetii reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis præliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt*. Cæsar Bell. Gall. lib. i. f. 1.

(b) Brotier says, this place was called in ancient inscriptions, *Respublica aquensis*, on account of the salubrity of the waters. He supposes it to be what is now called *Baden*, in the territory of Switzerland.

## Section LXVIII.

(a) For Mons Vocetius, see the Geographical Table.

(b) For Aventicum, see the Geographical Table.

## Section LXX.

(a) The *ala Syllana* was a body of cavalry, originally raised by Sylla. For the Padus (now the *Po*), see the Geographical Table.

(b) Vitellius

(b) Vitellius had been proconsul in Africa, where he administered the affairs of the province with an unblemished reputation. Suetonius, in Vitell. f. 5.

(c) For the municipal cities here enumerated, see the Geographical Table.

(d) The squadron of horse, called *Ala Petrina*, had been stationed in Cumberland, as appears by a lapidary inscription set forth in Camden's Britannia.

(e) See the Geographical Table.

(f) Penine Alps; see the Geographical Table. The *Subsignanus Miles*, mentioned in this passage, means the soldier who fought under the colours, *Vexilla*, and not under the Eagles. The auxiliaries, the veterans detained in the service, and the men draughted from the legions, were of this description.

Section LXXI.

(a) Otho, to appease the fury of the soldiers, had thrown Marius Celsus into prison. At that time, he could instigate the soldiers to perpetrate any atrocious deed, but to command them to forbear was not in his power. *Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus; jubere jam poterat.* See this book, f. xlv.

Section LXXII.

(a) Tigellinus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. f. 57; xv. f. 37; and Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) For Sinuessæ, see Annals, xii. f. 66; and see the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIII.

(a) For Calvia Crispinilla, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.; and see Plutarch, in Galba.

Section LXXV.

(a) Suetonius, in Vitell. f. 6.



## Section LXXVII.

(a) The number of Consuls, in the course of this eventful year, was so great, that it will not be useless to place the list in one view before the eye of the reader.

A. U. C. 822.	Consuls.
On the Kalends of January, Hist. i. f. 1.	{ Galba, Vinius.
Kalends of March, Hist. i. f. 77.	{ Salvius Otho, Titianus Otho.
Kalends of May, Hist. i. f. 77.	{ Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
Kalends of July, Hist. i. f. 77.	{ Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.
Kalends of September, Hist. i. f. 77.	{ Arrius Antoninus, Marius Celsus.
Kalends of November, Hist. ii. f. 1.	{ Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the senate, on the day before the Kalends of January, A. U. C. 823, the consul for a single day, being the last of the year, was Rosius Regulus. Hist. iii. f. 37.

(b) Arrius Antoninus, who appears in the foregoing list of the consuls, was grandfather to Antoninus Pius, the upright and virtuous emperor. See letters to him by the younger Pliny, lib. iv. epist. 3 and 18 ; lib. v. epist. 10.

(c) For Cadius Rufus, see Annals, xii. f. 22. For Pedius Blæsus, see Annals, xiv. f. 18.

## Section LXXVIII.

(a) For the cities of Hispalis and Emerita, see the Geographical Table.

(b) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 7.

## Section LXXXIV.

(a) This rule of military subordination stands confirmed by experience in every age and country. We read in Livy a speech of Paulus Æmilius to the same effect. *Unum imperatorem in exercitu*

*providere et consulere, quid agendum sit, debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium. In quo exercitu, milites, consul, et imperator, rumoribus vulgi circumaguntur, ibi nihil salutare esse. Livy, lib. xlv. f. 34.*

Section LXXXVI.

(a) The isle in the Tiber, now called *Ifola di St. Bartolemeo*.

(b) The Sublician Bridge, so called, because built with wood. A foundation of solid marble was laid afterwards, but nothing remains at present but the ruins.

Section LXXXVII.

(a) See Annals, xiii. f. 24.

Section LXXXVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXIX.

(a) Furius Camillus Scribonianus commanded in Dalmatia, A. U. C. 795. Being a man of enterprise and bold ambition, he induced the soldiers to swear fidelity to himself, and went into open rebellion. His letters to the emperor Claudius were written in a tone of menace, requiring him to abdicate, and live a private citizen. In the mean time, the rebel legions, with the versatility common to the military mind, returned to their duty; Scribonianus fled to a small island of the Adriatic, on the coast of Illyricum, and there was seized, and put to death by Volaginius, a common soldier, on the fifth day of his revolt. Suetonius, in Claudio, f. 35. See Tacitus, Hist. ii. f. 75.

(b) Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, made the Romans believe, that as long as they preserved the celestial arms, called *Ancilia*, which, he said, were sent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy the procession of the Salian priests, on stated days, attending the *Ancilia* with song and dance through the streets of Rome. *Salios cœlestia arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solemnique saltatu jusserrat Numa.* Livy, lib. i. f. 20. This institution was neglected by Otho. Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 8.



*Section XC.*

(a) M. Valerius Trachalus was joint consul with Silius Italicus, A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(b) Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the institutions relating to the Ancilia, as an inauspicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds, that he set out on the day when all who paid their worship to the mother of the gods began the usual ceremonies. Now that day was the 9th of the kalends of April, which answers to the 24th of March. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 8.

# N O T E S

ON THE

## SECOND BOOK

O F

## T H E H I S T O R Y.

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### *Section I.*

(a) **T**ACITUS says that Fortune was then laying the foundation of a new Imperial House, which proved to be beneficial and disastrous to the people, and also to the very family that was raised to that pre-eminence. This is perfectly clear, when we consider, that Rome was happy under Vespasian and Titus, but groaned under Domitian, till the tyrant was destroyed, and the Flavian line was extinguished.

(b) Titus, at this time, was in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narcissus, to whom Vespasian paid his court, Titus was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. The prince, then destined by his father to succeed to the empire, was cut off by the villany of Nero ; and Titus, whose elevation was not then foreseen, lived to be the delight of the Roman people.

(c) Suetonius tells us that Narcissus, the favourite freedman, consulted a fortune-teller about the destiny of Britannicus : the answer was unfavourable to the young prince, but assured Titus that he was born to the imperial dignity. Suetonius, in Tito, f. 2.

### *Section II.*

(a) Berenice was sister to Agrippa II. and wife of Herod, King of Chalcis, in Syria. For more of her, and her connexion with Titus, see Appendix to Hist. v. f. 21.

(b) When



(b) When Titus no longer sails along the coast, but puts off to sea, Tacitus calls it a bolder voyage, *audentioribus spatiis*; an expression, which, in the present state of navigation, may provoke the smile of a mariner. The compass was not invented, and men did not like to lose sight of the shore.

(c) At the town of Paphos, which stood on the western side of the isle of Cyprus, a temple was dedicated to Venus, thence called the Paphian Venus. The account of the rites and ceremonies, which Tacitus gives us, has been condemned by some critics as an idle digression: but when it is considered that the history of superstition was not uninteresting to the Romans, this passage will not be thought improper. The great historian has been charged with irreligion; but the attention shewn on this occasion, and many others, to the various modes of worship, may serve to vindicate his character.

### Section III.

(a) Aerias has been mentioned in another place, as the founder of the Paphian temple: Annals, iii. f. 63. Tacitus adds, that the name of *Aerias* was applied by many to the goddess herself; and accordingly, Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 14, calls her Οὐρανία.

(b) Cinyras is said by Apollodorus to have been one of the Kings of Assyria.

(c) Thamiras introduced the science of augury, which was founded altogether in deceit and fraud. Accordingly, we find that care was taken to keep it in the hands of two families, that the secret of the art might not transpire.

(d) This circumstance is mentioned by Pliny in his Natural History. *Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 96.

(e) The worship paid to Venus, as the parent of the whole animal creation, was of ancient date, and known for ages to the Assyrians. The rude state of sculpture may, perhaps, account for the representation of the goddess, as described by Tacitus. Clemens of Alexandria makes that observation. The statuary, he says, had not the skill to give the elegance of symmetry and proportion: He therefore left the form  
and

and delicacy of Venus to the imagination. As Ovid says, *si qua latent, meliora putat*.

Section IV.

(a) The rapid success of Vespasian had well nigh ended the Jewish war. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 10 ; and the Appendix to Hist. v. f. 3.

Section VI.

(a) The Parthians were originally a people from Scythia : in process of time, when their empire grew in strength, they became the grand rivals of the Romans. The overthrow of Crassus is well known. Both nations experienced alternate disasters in the course of their various wars. See Annals, xv. f. 24 and 27.

(b) The last civil war was that between Vindex and Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(c) It will be proper, in this place, to state the names of the Roman legions, and the places where they were stationed. A short, but clear, account of this matter will help to remove the difficulties, which might otherwise occur in the sequel of the history. Brotier has performed this useful task with his usual accuracy. See quarto edition, vol. iii. p. 408. A compendious view of what he has said on the subject will, perhaps, be acceptable ; as it will shew the whole strength of the empire in the important crisis now before us.

The names of the several legions were as follow :

1. LEGIO PRIMA, the first legion.
2. LEGIO PRIMA ITALICA, the first Italic legion, raised by Nero, as appears in Dio, lib. lv.
3. LEGIO PRIMA ADJUTRIX, an additional legion, according to Dio raised by Nero from the marines, and, for that reason, called *Legio Prima Adjutrix Classicorum*.
4. LEGIO SECUNDA, the second legion.
5. LEGIO SECUNDA ADJUTRIX, raised by Vespasian during the war with Vitellius.
6. LEGIO TERTIA, the third legion ; stationed in Syria.
7. LEGIO TERTIA ; another, called also the third, in Ægypt.
8. LEGIO



8. LEGIO TERTIA ; another, stationed in Africa.
9. LEGIO QUARTA, the fourth legion, called, to distinguish it from another fourth legion, *Legio Quarta Macedonica*.
10. LEGIO QUARTA, another fourth legion, called, for the sake of distinction, *Legio Quarta Scythica*.
11. LEGIO QUINTA, the fifth legion.
12. LEGIO QUINTA MACEDONICA, the fifth legion, called the *Macedonian*.
13. LEGIO SEXTA, the sixth legion, sometimes called *Legio Sexta Viatrix*.
14. LEGIO SEXTA FERRATA ; another sixth legion, with the addition of *Ferrata*, to distinguish it from the former.
15. LEGIO SEPTIMA CLAUDIANA, the seventh, called also the *Claudian*.
16. LEGIO SEPTIMA GALBIANA, the seventh, called the *Galbian*.
17. LEGIO OCTAVA, the eighth legion, sometimes called *Invieta*.
18. LEGIO NONA, the ninth legion ; sometimes called *Gemina*, because it was one legion formed out of two.
19. LEGIO DECIMA, the tenth legion, quartered in Spain.
20. LEGIO DECIMA, another tenth legion, quartered in Judæa.
21. LEGIO UNDECIMA, the eleventh legion, sometimes with the additional title of *Claudiana*.
22. LEGIO DUODECIMA, the twelfth legion, sometimes called *Legio Duodecima Fulminea*.
23. LEGIO TERTIA DECIMA, the thirteenth legion, called also GEMINA, because composed of two united into one. LEGIO QUARTA DECIMA, the fourteenth legion.
24. LEGIO QUINTA DECIMA, the fifteenth legion, stationed in the Lower Germany.
25. LEGIO QUINTA DECIMA, another fifteenth legion, quartered in Judæa, sometimes called *Legio Quinta Decima Apollinaris*.
26. LEGIO SEXTA DECIMA, the sixteenth legion.
27. LEGIO SEPTIMA DECIMA, the seventeenth legion, thought to be one of those that suffered in the slaughter of Varus.
28. LEGIO

28. LEGIO DUODEVicessima, the eighteenth legion, another of the legions under Varus.

29. LEGIO UNDEVicessima, the nineteenth legion, another legion under Varus.

30. LEGIO Vicessima, the twentieth legion, called by Dio *Valeria Victrix*.

31. LEGIO UNA-ET-Vicessima, the twenty-first legion, sometimes with the addition of *Rapax*.

32. LEGIO DUO-ET-Vicessima, the twenty-second legion, stationed in Germany.

33. LEGIO DUO-ET-Vicessima, another twenty-second legion, quartered in Ægypt.

34. LEGIO E CLASSICIS, a legion formed out of the marine soldiers by Vitellius in his last distress, but soon received into Vespasian's party, and never more distinguished.

Such were the names of the legions that occur in Tacitus. If, from the whole number, we deduct the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, which were all cut off under Varus, and also the last formed out of the marines by Vitellius, and heard of no more, it will appear that, in the beginning of the ensuing wars, the military establishment, exclusive of the forces in Italy, consisted of THIRTY LEGIONS. Their stations were as follows :

*In Britain.*

The Second, Ninth, Twentieth.

*In Spain.*

The First ADJUTRIX, the Sixth, the Tenth.

*In Gaul.*

The First Italic.

*In Lower Germany.*

The First, Fifth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth.

*In Upper Germany.*

The Fourth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second.

*In Pannonia.*

The Seventh Galbian, the Thirteenth.



## NOTES ON THE

*In Dalmatia.*

The Eleventh, the Fourteenth.

*In Mesia.*

The Seventh Claudian, the Eighth.

*In Syria.*

The Third, Fourth, Sixth, Twelfth.

*In Judæa.*

The Fifth, Tenth, Fifteenth.

*In Ægypt.*

The Third, the Twenty-second.

*In Africa.*

The Third.

That so small a number of legions should be able, not only to conquer, but to keep in subjection the wide extent of the Roman world, might be matter of wonder, if we did not know the wisdom with which the legions were established, and the military discipline that was, for a number of ages, strictly maintained throughout the Roman armies. Brotier observes, that Marshal Saxe, whose extraordinary genius and great experience are universally known, was of opinion that France would do well to adopt the system of the Roman legions, and new-model her armies on that admirable plan of discipline. See *Memoires sur l'Infanterie, ou Traité des Légions, suivant l'exemple des anciens Romains, par M. le Maréchal de Saxe.*

## Section VIII.

(a) A number of impostors, at different times, assumed the name of Nero. See Suetonius, in Nero, f. 57.

## Section IX.

(a) The same ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance after he was dead. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 13.

## Section X.

(a) His brother was Vibius Secundus; a man convicted of extortion, Annals, xiv. f. 28.

## Section XI.

(a) See Annals, xiv. f. 29; Suetonius, in Nero, f. 39, 40.

(b) For

(b) For the excellent character of Vestricius Spurinna, see Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7 ; and lib. iii. epist. 1 and 10.

(c) Juvenal has given a different description of Otho on his march, sat. ii. ver. 99. But poetic licence cannot weigh against the truth of history.

Section XII.

(a) For the maritime Alps, see the Geographical Table ; and see Annals, xv. f. 32, note (a).

Section XVII.

(a) For Sylla's cavalry, see Hist. i. f. 70.

(b) The country between the Po and the Alps, comprising *Piedmont*, *Mont-ferrat*, the Milanese : the principal cities were, *Mediolanum*, *Novaria*, *Eporodia*, *Vercellæ*. See Hist. i. f. 70 ; and see the Geographical Table.

Section XX.

(a) Cæcina wore the *sagum*, which was the German dress (see The Manners of the Germans, f. 17), and the *braccæ*, or breeches, which distinguished the *Gauls*. The southern part of Gaul was called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and also *Braccata*.

Section XXIII.

(a) This village, which, according to Cluverius, stood at the distance of twenty miles from Cremona, and is now called *Caneto*, has been rendered famous by the defeat of Otho, and afterwards, as will be seen in the third book of this History, by that of Vitellius.

Section XXIV.

(a) It appears in Suetonius, that the place which is called *Castorum* by Tacitus, was a spot where the Temple of Castor was built: *Otho tribus quidem, verum mediocribus præliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Castoris (SUPPLE TEMPLUM) quod loco nomen est, vicit.* Sueton. in Othone, f. 9. It was about twelve miles from Cremona, between the Po and the Addua (now *Adda*).

Section XXV.

(a) Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, a district of Syria.



## Section XXVII.

(a) Ticinum, a city built by the Transalpine Gauls on the river Ticinus, which is beautifully described by Silius Italicus in the following lines :

Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadoso  
 Perspicuus servat turbare nescia fundo,  
 Et nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem ;  
 Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis  
 Argutos inter, volucrum certamina, cantus  
 Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.

DE BELLO PUNICO, lib. iv. ver. 82.

It may be doubted, however, whether this description is strictly true. Mr. Addison says, he does not know why the poet has represented it as so very gentle and still a river, as the bishop of Salisbury ran down with the stream thirty miles in an hour, by the help of but one rower.

## Section XXIX.

(a) The people of Vienne were obliged to purchase the protection of Valens. Hist. i. f. 66.

(b) In an army, where all alike from the highest to the lowest committed the most violent outrages, the soldiers knew no subordination. Guilt, when widely spread, levels all distinction. Lucan truly observes,

—— Facinus, quos inquinat, æquat.

PHARSAL. lib. v. ver. 290.

## Section XXX.

(a) Cæcina was admired by his soldiers for those agreeable secondary qualities, which often gain the affections of the multitude. Corbulo, the great commander, who is so much extolled by Tacitus, united to his superior talents the specious trifles that conciliate favour. *Super experientiam sapientiamque, etiam specie inanum validus.* Annals, xiii. f. 8.

## Section XXXI.

(a) Vitellius was of so sluggish a disposition, that he seemed to act under the direction of others, not from the impulse of his own mind.

Section

Section XXXIV.

(a) It has been already mentioned, that Otho had in his army two thousand gladiators ; a disgraceful expedient, says Tacitus, but in civil wars adopted by the ablest generals. *Deforme auxilium, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum.* See this book, f. xi.

Section XXXVII.

(a) For the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, and the brilliant success of his arms in Britain, see Annals, xiv. from section 29 to 40.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Sallust has a similar observation : *Natura mortalium avida imperii, et præcepta ad explendam animi cupidinem.* De Bell. Jugurth. f. 6. The sequel of this section, in which the progress of the human passions and the causes of civil commotion are unfolded, has some resemblance to a passage in Lucan, which has been quoted in a former note.

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacta

Intulit, &c.

Et cum consulibus turbantes jura tribuni.

\* \* \* \* \*

PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 160.

Section XXXIX.

(a) Brotier observes, that the place to which the Othonians advanced, is now called *Tor Anzolini*, between the rivers *Ollio* and *Dermona*.

Section XL.

(a) The Addua (now *Adda*) falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona.

(b) The taste for show and splendour was so great, that none, who, in that age, were what we now call people of fashion, chose to appear on the Appian or Flamminian road, or to make an excursion to their villas, without a train of Numidians mounted on the swift horses of their country, to ride before their carriages, and give notice, by a cloud of dust, that a great man was on the road. For this fact we are indebted to Seneca, who says, *Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcur-*



*erat equitatus, atque ut agmen cursorum antecedit : turpe est, nullos esse, qui occurrentes viâ dejiciant ; qui honestum hominem venire magno pulvere ostendant.* Seneca, epist. 123.

Section XLII.

(a) Suetonius expressly says, that Otho, in the last engagement at Bedriacum, was defeated by a stratagem. His soldiers were called out to be present at a general pacification, and, in the very act of saluting the Vitellian army, were suddenly attacked. Sueton. Life of Otho, f. 9.

Section XLIII.

(a) For the twenty-first legion called *Rapax*, see this book, f. 6, note (b).

Section XLIV.

(a) In the civil wars no prisoners were made, to be afterwards sold to slavery ; and, by consequence, no quarter was given. Plutarch, in his account of this battle, describes a most dreadful carnage. See the Life of Otho.

Section XLVI.

(a) We have here a noble sentiment, in direct opposition to the stoic doctrine of suicide.

Section XLVII.

(a) Tacitus has told us, that Otho's mind was not, like his body, dissolved in luxury. *Non erat Othonis mollis, et corpori similis animus.* Hist. i. f. 22. His speech upon this occasion shews that he could think with dignity. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, f. 10.

Section XLVIII.

(a) Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were of the Julian line ; Claudius, and Nero (by adoption) were of the Claudian ; Galba was of the house of Servius ; Otho, of the Salvian family.

Section XLIX.

(a) This was Verginius Rufus, who conquered Vindex in Gaul, and had the moderation to decline the imperial dignity, when offered to him by the legions. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(b) Nero, in his last distress, fearing that his head would be exhibited

as a public spectacle, gave directions for his funeral. Otho did the same: though tainted with Nero's vices, he closed the scene with dignity.

(c) Plutarch tells us, that he himself visited Otho's tomb at Brixellum. Those perishable materials have long since mouldered away; but the epitaph, written by Martial, will never die. The poet admits that Otho led a dissolute life; but adds, that, in his end, he was no way inferior to Cato.

Dum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,  
 Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho;  
 Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,  
 Et fodit certâ pectora nuda manu.  
 Sit Cato dum vivit, funè vel Cæsare major;  
 Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit?

Lib. vi. epig. 31.

Section L.

(a) See Annals, xiii. f. 46; Hist. i. f. 13; and Suetonius and Plutarch.

(b) Regium was about fifteen miles from Brixellum, where Otho breathed his last.

(c) See Suetonius, in Vesp. f. 5.

Section LIII.

(a) Eprius Marcellus was the inveterate enemy of Pætus Thrasea. Annals, xvi. f. 22 and 28.

Section LIV.

(a) The passports, called *Diplomata Othonis*, were granted for the protection of travellers and messengers. See Pliny, lib. x. epist. 14 and 54.

Section LV.

(a) The festival of Ceres began on the 19th of April. See Annals, xv. f. 53.

Section LVII.

(a) For more of Asiaticus, see Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 12.

Section



*Section LVIII.*

- (a) For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table:
- (b) The Straits of Gibraltar.

*Section LIX.*

- (a) The Arar, now the Soane. See Annals, xiii. f. 53.
- (b) For the extreme poverty of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. f. 7.

*Section LX.*

(a) Cæcilius Simplex was consul when Vitellius, finding his affairs utterly ruined, was willing to abdicate. Hist. iii. f. 68. For an account of the consuls in the course of this year, see Hist. i. f. 77, note (a).

*Section LXI.*

(a) The feditious were generally given to be devoured by wild beasts. That was deemed the punishment due to pernicious citizens.

*Section LXII.*

(a) Whcever desires to know more of Vitellius's gluttony, may find a number of particular instances collected by Brotier, in his 4to edition of Tacitus, vol. iii. page 433.

*Section LXIII.*

(a) This was Lucius Vitellius, whom we have seen with the senators at Bononia. This book, f. liv.

*Section LXIV.*

- (a) Petronia was the first wife of Vitellius. Suet. in Vitel. f. 6.
- (b) For Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. f. 3.
- (c) See Suetonius in the place last quoted.

*Section LXV.*

(a) Lucius Arruntius was appointed governor of Spain by Tiberius, and for ten years after detained at Rome. Annals, vi. f. 27.

(b) Trebellius

(*b*) Trebellius Maximus commanded in Britain, and was obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the soldiers. Hist. i. f. 60.

(*c*) For Vettius Bolanus, see the Life of Agricola, f. 8 and 16.

*Section LXVI.*

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For the Graian Alps, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXIX.*

(*a*) The foreign war was with the Batavians, under Civilis; the domestic, with Vespasian.

*Section LXX.*

(*a*) This was the 24th of May.

*Section LXXI.*

(*a*) Valens and Cæcina entered on their joint consulship on the kalends of November. See Hist. i. f. 77, and note (*a*).

(*b*) Martius Macer commanded Otho's gladiators on the banks of the Po. This book, f. 23.

*Section LXXII.*

(*a*) Sulpicius Camerinus and his son were put to death by order of Helius, Nero's freedman, A. U. C. 820. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 9.

(*b*) The slaves were condemned to suffer death on a cross.

*Section LXXIV.*

(*a*) Vespasian's two sons, Titus and Domitian.

*Section LXXV.*

(*a*) Furius Camillus Scribonianus raised a rebellion in Dalmatia, in the reign of Claudius, and was soon after slain, A. U. C. 795.

*Section LXXVI.*

(*a*) Corbulo was put to death by Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 11.



*Section LXXVII.*

(a) In the reign of Claudius, Vespasian had obtained triumphal ornaments for his conduct in Britain. Suet. in Vesp. f. 4.

(b) Titus had served in the rank of military tribune in Britain as well as Germany, and gave early proofs of the modest merit that distinguished his character. Suet. in Tito, f. 4.

*Section LXXVIII.*

(a) For a number of oracles and prodigies, see Suet. in Vesp. f. 5 and 7.

(b) For Mount Carmel, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXXX.*

(a) In this passage Tacitus, perhaps, had his eye upon the character of Scipio, as drawn by Livy. *Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quâdam ab juventâ in ostentationem earum compositus.* Livy, lib. xxvi. f. 19.

*Section LXXXI.*

(a) Sohemus, king of the country called *Sophene*. Annals, xiii. f. 7. Antiochus, king of Commagene. Annals, xii. f. 55. Agrippa II, king of part of Judæa. Annals, xiii. f. 7. Berenice, sister to Agrippa, famous for her love of Titus. See Appendix to Hist. v.

(b) For Berytus, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXXXII.*

(a) For the conduct of Titus, and the progress of his arms against the Jews, see Appendix to Hist. v. f. 21.

*Section LXXXIV.*

(a) Vespasian, in the height of his power, did not scruple to raise large sums of money by severe exactions; but the apology for his avarice was the liberal spirit with which he adorned Rome and Italy with grand and useful works. See Suet. in Vesp. f. 16.

*Section*

*Section LXXXV.*

(a) For Apronius Saturninus and Tertius Julianus, see Hist. i. f. 79.

*Section LXXXVI.*

(a) Primus Antonius, now the leader of Vespasian's armies, was formerly convicted of extortion. See Annals, xiv. f. 18.

*Section LXXXIX.*

(a) Vitellius's mother, Sextilia. See this book, f. 64.

*Section XCI.*

(a) The defeat at Cremera, a river in Tuscany (now *La Varca*), was A. U. C. 277. At Allia (now *Torrente di Catino*), the Roman army was put to the sword by the Gauls, under Brennus, A. U. C. 364. The slaughter was so great, that the day on which it happened (*Dies Alliensis*) was marked as unlucky in the calendar, and, according to Cicero, thought more fatal than that on which the city of Rome was taken.

(b) The assemblies, in which the consuls were created, are mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 11. For the manner in which that business was conducted by the emperor Trajan, see Pliny's Panegyric, f. 63.

(c) Vitellius, in the time of Nero, passed his time among pantomime actors, charioteers, and wrestlers. Suet. in Vitel. f. 4 and 12.

(d) Helvidius Priscus often mentioned, Annals, xii. xiii. xvi; and Life of Agricola, f. 2, note (a).

(e) Pætus Thrasea, Annals, xiv. f. 12; xvi. f. 21; Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 1.

*Section XCIII.*

(a) The lands round the Vatican were covered with stagnated water, and the air, of course, was unwholesome. St. Peter's church stands there at present; but Brotier says, the cardinals never reside in that quarter.

(b) Before the augmentation, the prætorian cohorts (that is, those that were encamped near Rome) were only nine; the city-guard consisted of three, called *Cohortes Urbane*. Annals, iv. f. 5.



*Section XCV.*

(a) The birth-day of Vitellius is left uncertain. Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 3, says it was the eighth of the kalends of October, or, according to others, the seventh of the ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. C. 768.

(b) An order of priests was established by Romulus in honour of Tatius the Sabine king, A. U. C. 7. Annals, i. f. 54.

(c) Mucianus was the active partizan of Vespasian (this book, f. 76). Eprius Marcellus, a man who raised himself by his flagitious deeds (Annals, xvi. f. 28), was the favourite minister under Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 8.

*Section XCVII.*

(a) Hordeonius Flaccus was appointed by Galba to the command on the Upper Rhine, in the room of Verginius Rufus. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(b) For the war in which Flaccus was engaged with Civilis, the Batavian chief, see Hist. iv. f. 18.

(c) Suetonius gives a different account of Vespasian's administration in Africa. In Vesp. f. 4.

*Section XCVIII.*

(a) For the Pannonian Alps, see the Geographical Table.

*Section C.*

(a) Brotier thinks that there is a mistake in the text. The fourteenth legion, he observes, stood firm for Otho, and, for that reason, was sent into Britain. But perhaps the veterans, who had served their time, and were still retained in the service, were left in Italy.

(b) For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table.

*Section CI.*

(a) That is, during the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, the last of the Flavian line.

N O T E S  
ON THE  
T H I R D B O O K  
OF  
T H E H I S T O R Y.

---

*Section I.*

(a) **F**OR Pætovio, see the Geographical Table.

*Section II.*

(a) The forces from Mæsia were not in the action at Bedriacum. See Hist. ii. f. 44.

*Section IV.*

(a) Ampius Flavianus was related to Vitellius : this book, f. 10.

*Section V.*

(a) Aponius Saturninus was governor of Mæsia. Hist. ii. f. 95, 96.

(b) For the Jazyges, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Sido has been mentioned, Annals, xii. f. 29, 30. Of Italicus nothing is now known with precision : he was probably the son of Sido.

(d) A squadron of horse, most probably from the city of *Auria* in Spain, and thence called the *Aurianian Cavalry*.

(e) For the river Ænus, see the Geographical Table.

*Section VI.*

(a) For Corbulo's conduct in Armenia, see Annals, xiii ; and for his death by order of Nero, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 11.



- (b) For Opiturgium, and Altinum, see the Geographical Table.
- (c) Patavium and Atete; see the Geographical Table.
- (d) Forum Allieni, now Ferrara, on the Po.

#### Section VII.

- (a) See the second book of the History, f. 6, note (c).
- (b) After the calamities occasioned by Otho and Vitellius, the memory of Galba was held in high respect by the people.

#### Section VIII.

- (a) The plains of Verona are now called *Campagna di Verona*.
- (b) Vicetia, now *Vicenza*; see the Geographical Table.
- (c) The Julian Alps, the same as the Pannonian. See the Geographical Table.
- (d) Ægypt was the Roman granary of corn; and Pliny the younger says, that the people of that country were proud to find that the conquerors of the world depended on them for their daily maintenance. *Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem populum pasceret; quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset.* Pliny's Panegyric, f. 31.

#### Section IX.

- (a) For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) The river Tartarus, now *Le Tartare*.
- (c) The forces under Vitellius are enumerated, Hist. ii. f. 100. Antonius had as yet under his command three legions only.

#### Section X.

- (a) Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, f. 4; and Hist. ii. f. 86.

- (b) This prayer of Antonius resembles the following line in Virgil:  
Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.

GEORGIC. iii. ver. 513.

- (c) This passage seems to have been misunderstood by some of the commentators. They observe that there was not sufficient time for Vespasian

pasian to receive intelligence, and return an answer favourable to Flavianus; but they might have recollected, that he, who had a long journey to make, most probably received the letters in question at some place on the road.

*Section XII.*

(a) For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. f. 100.

(b) For Atria, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XIII.*

(a) The part of the camp called *Principia*, was the place where the Eagles were deposited. Statius has a similar passage :

——— Concilii penetrale, domumque verendam  
Signorum.

THEB. lib. x. ver. 120.

(b) Antonius had been convicted of extortion, and for that offence sent into banishment. Annals, xiv. f. 40.

*Section XVII.*

(a) The river now called *Dermona*. See the Geographical Table.

*Section XVIII.*

(a) The twenty-first legion called *Rapax*, and the first called *Italic*, fought on the side of Vitellius. See Hist. ii. f. 100.

*Section XXII.*

(a) It appears from this, that the first centurion, *Primipili Centurio*, was the Eagle-bearer.

*Section XXIII.*

(a) The warlike engine, called *Balista*, is described by Vegetius, lib. iv. f. 22.

*Section XXIV.*

(a) Mark Anthony gained a victory over the Parthians, A. U. C. 718. Dio, lib. xlix. For Corbulo's success in Armenia, see Annals, xv.

(b) The Eastern nations worshipped the rising sun. The Parthians are described in that act of devotion by Herodian, lib. iv. cap. 15.

*Section*



*Section XXVII.*

(a) For Brixia, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XXVIII.*

(a) Pliny the elder was a considerable historian, as appears from Pliny the consul, lib. iii. epist. 5.

*Section XXIX.*

(a) The military shell was so condensed, that the darts of the enemy could make no impression. Whoever is curious about the form of the Testudo, and other warlike engines employed in sieges, may consult Lucan, lib. iii. v. 474.

(b) Josephus says, that above thirty thousand of the Vitellians were put to the sword, and of Vespasian's army about four thousand five hundred. De Bello Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11.

*Section XXXI.*

(a) The display of clothes and sacerdotal vestments in the act of suing for peace has been mentioned, Hist. i. f. 66.

*Section XXXIII.*

(a) Mephitis was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

—— Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.

ÆNEID, lib. vii. ver. 84.

*Section XXXIV.*

(a) Whoever is curious about the distinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies observed in each, may consult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

*Section XXXVI.*

(a) For Aricia, and the neighbouring grove, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XXXVII.*

(a) The consulship, in the time of the republic, was an annual office; but Julius Cæsar, in haste to reward his friends, shortened the duration

ration of the office, and advanced several to that dignity within the year. He was himself sole consul, A. U. C. 709 ; he resigned in favour of Fabius Maximus and Caius Trebonius Nepos. The former dying on the very last day of the year, he appointed Caninius Rebulus to fill the remaining space. Cicero laughs at the short-lived dignity. In that consulship, he says, no man had time to dine, and no kind of mischief happened. The consul was a man of so much vigilance, that he did not allow himself a wink of sleep. *Caninio consule, scito neminem prandisse ; nihil tamen, eo consule, mali factum est. Fuit enim mirificâ vigilantia, qui suo consulatu somnum non viderit.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. vii. epist. 30.

Section XLI.

- (a) For Ariminum, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLII.

- (a) For Picenum, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) Sinus Pisanus, now the *Gulf of Pisa*.
- (c) Portus Herculis Monæci, now called *Monaco*.

Section XLIII.

- (a) For the Stæchades, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLV.

- (a) For Caractacus, and Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, see Annals, xii. f. 32 to 36.

Section XLVI.

- (a) The war with Civilis, the Batavian ; for which see Hist. iv. f. 12.
- (b) According to Josephus, Fonteius Agrippa was afterwards murdered by the Sarmatians. Bel. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

Section XLVII.

- (a) Polemon was made king of Pontus by Caligula ; and, after his death, the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suetonius, in Nero, f. 18.



(b) Now *Trebizonde*.

(c) By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew distant colonies into a close alliance.

(d) These canoes were so light, that the barbarians could carry them on their shoulders, and traverse woods and forests without being fatigued with their load. The savages of America, and the Greenlanders, have boats bound together with twigs and osiers, without the use of brass or iron.

#### Section XLVIII.

(a) The river *Cobibus*, Brotier says, ought to be called *Cobum*, being the same mentioned by the elder Pliny, lib. vi. f. 4. *Flumen Cobum è Caucaſo per Suanos fluens*. It discharges itself into the Euxine.

(b) The commentators agree that there is here an error in the text: instead of *Sedochæzorum regis*, the true reading is, *Sub Sedochi Lazorum regis auxilio*. The *Lazi* were a people of Sarmatia, on the east side of the Euxine.

#### Section L.

(a) *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, a port town of *Urbino*, on the Adriatic.

(b) *Clavarium* was a donative granted to the soldiers to enable them to purchase nails for their shoes. In like manner the donative for shoes was called *Calcearium*. Suetonius in *Vespas.* f. 8.

#### Section LI.

(a) *Janiculum*, a high hill at Rome, but not one of the seven; now called *Monte Gianicolo*, and more commonly *Montorio*. The story of a foldier killing his brother in battle, and on the discovery dispatching himself, is told by Valerius Maximus, lib. v. cap. 5, f. 4, but attributed to a foldier under Sertorius. See Livy's Epitome, lib. lxxix.

#### Section LII.

(a) Plotius Griphus was one of the friends of Statius the poet, as appears from a poem in the *Sylvæ*, lib. iv. inscribed to him.

#### Section LV.

(a) For Mevania, see the Geographical Table.

Section

*Section LVII.*

- (a) For Minturnæ, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) Puteolanum, now *Pozzuolo*.

*Section LVIII.*

- (a) For Narnia, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) The people of Rome were divided into five-and-thirty tribes.

*Section LIX.*

- (a) For Mevania, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) For Samnis, the Marfi, and Peligni, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LX.*

- (a) Carfulæ. See the Geographical Table.

*Section LXI.*

- (a) For Interamna, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, sent by Vitellius to take possession of the Apennine mountains. See this book, f. 55.

*Section LXII.*

- (a) For Urbinum, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) See Annals, xiv. f. 15; xvi. f. 21.
- (c) See History, i. f. 7.
- (d) History, i. f. 52.

*Section LXV.*

- (a) He lent his money to Vespasian on a mortgage of his house and lands. See Suetonius, in Vesp. f. 4.
- (b) The Temple of Apollo was on Mount Palatine, where Augustus formed a library. Horace says,

Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.

- (c) That an agreement was made between Vitellius and Flavius Sa-



binus, the brother of Vespasian, appears in Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 15. Cluvius Rufus had been governor of a province in Spain; a man of eloquence and great accomplishments, but void of military talents. See Hist. i. f. 8.

(d) Silius Italicus, the celebrated poet, was consul A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

#### Section LXVI.

(a) If Vespasian suffered Vitellius to survive his grandeur, and live a private citizen, men would ascribe it to pride and arrogance, and the vanquished would not submit to see their emperor a living reproach to their whole party; and, consequently, Vitellius would be in danger from the commiseration of his friends.

(b) Vitellius had great weight and influence in the reign of Claudius. Vespasian, at that time, paid his court to the favourite, and also to Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. See Suet. in Vespas. f. 4.

#### Section LXVII.

(a) Vitellius abdicated on the 18th of December, A. U. C. 822, after a few months of anarchy, plunder, and massacre.

(b) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, f. 15. Juvenal describes the same scene; but, according to him, Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, was one of the melancholy train. Tacitus says she did not live to see the sad catastrophe.

————— Horrida mater,  
Pullati proceres.

SAT. iii. ver. 213.

#### Section LXVIII.

(a) We have seen that Cæcilius Simplex was impatient to arrive at the consular dignity, insomuch that he was accused in the senate of a design to purchase it, in the room of Marius Celsus. He did not succeed, but Vitellius afterwards gratified his ambition without a bribe. Hist. ii. f. 60. See the list of consuls for this year, Hist. i. f. 77.

(b) The

(b) The Temple of Concord was burnt to the ground in the fire of the capitol, related hereafter in this book, f. lxxi. Brotier says, it was afterwards rebuilt, as appears by an inscription still to be seen among the ruins :

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS  
INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT.

#### Section LXIX.

(a) A Fundane lake, now called *Lago di Fundi*, is mentioned by Pliny, lib. iii. f. 5. But the lake now in question was in the city of Rome, near the *Mons Quirinalis*. Brotier says there were at least a thousand of those lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains.

(b) The curious may consult a Genealogical Table of Vespasian's Family in Brotier's Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 383.

#### Section LXX.

(a) Domitian, who was born on the 9th of the kalends of November, or the 24th of October, A. U. C. 814. Suet. in Domit. f. 1.

#### Section LXXI.

(a) The Forum was surrounded by a number of Temples ; such as, the Temple of FORTUNE, of JUPITER TONANS, of SATURN, the Temple of CONCORD, and several others.

(b) The citadel of the capitol, in which was the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, stood near the Tarpeian rock.

(c) The *Lucus Apyli* was so called, because it was made a sanctuary by Romulus to invite a conflux of foreigners to his new state. It stood between the two rocks of the Capitoline Hill; on one of which was built the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS ; on the other, the Temple of FERETRIAN JOVE. Brotier says, that in the place of the grove there is now erected the *Piazza del Campidoglio*.

(d) The Tarpeian rock, with its hundred steps, was on the west side of the Capitoline Hill ; and from that eminence malefactors were thrown headlong into the Tiber.

(e) Pliny



(e) Pliny the elder says, the capitol was set on fire by the Vitellians, lib. xxxiv. f. 7. Josephus gives the same account, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11; and Dio agrees with them both, lib. lxxv.

#### Section LXXII.

(a) When Tarquin the Proud was laying the foundation of a temple, the men employed in digging the ground found an human skull; and this was interpreted to be the pledge of empire, an auspicious omen, that Rome would be the mistress of the world. *Nec dubitavere cuncti monstrum pulcherrimum imperii sedem caputque terrarum promittere*. Florus, lib. i. cap. 7.

(b) It is not strictly true that Porfena became master of the city. He was at the gates, but, instead of advancing, received hostages, and raised the siege. Florus, lib. i. cap. 10.

(c) The city was taken by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364. See Annals, xi. f. 24.

(d) In the civil war between Sylla and Marius, the capitol was destroyed by fire, A. U. C. 671. The Sibylline books perished in the flames. See Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. i.

(e) Sueffa Pometia, a city of ancient Latium, about fifty miles from Rome, on the Appian road. The very ruins have perished.

(f) Horatius Pulvillus was consul with Valerius Publicola, A. U. C. 247, about three years after the expulsion of Tarquin.

(g) Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were consuls, A. U. C. 671. The capitol was then consumed by fire; not, however, occasioned by an open act of violence, but rather by the hands of clandestine incendiaries. Sylla undertook to rebuild the capitol, but did not dedicate it. *Hoc felicitati suæ defuisse confessus est, quod capitolium non dedicavisset*. Pliny, lib. vii. f. 43.

(h) Lutatius Catulus was consul with Æmilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676; before the Christian æra 78.

#### Section LXXIII.

(a) Quinctius Atticus and Alienus Cæcina were consuls from the first

first of November to the end of the year. See the first book of this History, f. 77.

*Section LXXVI.*

(a) For Feronia, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXXVII.*

(a) The custom of sending the news of victory, in a letter bound with laurel, has been mentioned in a former note.

*Section LXXVIII.*

(a) For Ocriculum, see the Geographical Table.

(b) The Saturnalian festival began on the 17th of December.

(c) For the *Via Salaria*, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXXIX.*

(a) For *Saxa Rubra*, see the Geographical Table.

(b) For Fidenæ, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LXXX.*

(a) For Arulenus Rusticus, see Annals, xvi. f. 26; and Life of Agricola, f. 2.

*Section LXXXI.*

(a) Mufonius Rufus has occurred, Annals, xiv. f. 59; and Annals, xv. f. 71.

(b) The procession of the Vestal virgins is mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. f. 16. They received for answer, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the fire of the capitol, all negotiation was inadmissible. *Dirempta belli commercia*. Virgil has used the same expression.

————— Belli commercia Turnus  
Sustulit ista prior, jam tum pallante perempto.

ÆNEID. lib. x. ver. 532.

*Section LXXXII.*

(a) For Pons Milvius, see the Geographical Table.



## Section LXXXIII.

(a) Speaking of the wars of Cinna and Sylla, Florus says: The last grievous calamity that befel the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged against citizens, with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a spectacle in the forum. *Hoc deerat unum populi Romani malis, jam ut ipse intra se parricidale bellum committeret, et in urbe mediâ, ac foro, quasi arenâ, cives cum civibus suis, gladiatorio more, concurrerent.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

## Section LXXXIV.

(a) The camp of the prætorian guards, a little way out of the city of Rome, first devised by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius. *Annals*, iv. f. 2.

## Section LXXXV.

(a) The porter's lodge. See Suetonius, in *Vitel.* f. 16 and 17.

(b) Dio relates this incident with a small variance. According to him, the German soldier said, I will give you the best assistance in my power; and thereupon he stabbed Vitellius, and dispatched himself. *Dio*, lib. lxxv.

(c) Gemoniæ, the charnel of malefactors. See *Suet.* in *Vitel.* f. 7.

## Section LXXXVI.

(a) Vitellius owed much to the illustrious name of his father; but it appears that he advanced himself in the road to honours by the obsequious arts which he practised under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. See Suetonius, in *Vitel.* f. 4.

N O T E S  
O N T H E  
F O U R T H B O O K  
O F  
T H E H I S T O R Y.

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*Section II.*

- (a) **F**OR Aricia, see the Geographical Table.  
(b) For Bovillæ, see the Geographical Table.

*Section III.*

- (a) For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. f. 100; and Hist. iii. f. 12.  
(b) We have here a severe reflection, but fatally founded in truth. Seneca speaks to the same purpose. *Ita naturâ comparatum est, ut altius injuriæ, quam merita descendant; et hæc cito defluant, illas tenax memoriâ custodiet.* De Benef. lib. i. cap. 1. Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury, seems to have had his eye on Tacitus, when he says, "Benefits oblige, and obligation is thralldom; and unrequitable obligation perpetual thralldom, which is hateful." Leviath. p. 48.  
(c) See Suetonius, in Domit. f. 1.

*Section IV.*

- (a) Mucianus assumed a character above the rank of a private  
VOL. III. 3 T citizen,



citizen, when he took upon him to address the consuls and the senate. See Cicero ad Familiares, epist. xv.

(b) Triumphs and triumphal ornaments were never granted for a victory over Roman citizens. For that reason, some advantage, which Mucianus had gained over the Sarmatians, served as a pretext.

#### Section V.

(a) Helvidius Priscus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. f. 35. As Cluvius was his father, it follows that he was adopted by a person of the name of Helvidius Priscus. Lipsius thinks it was by Helvidius mentioned Annals, xii. f. 49, who at that time served in Asia in the capacity of military tribune.

(b) For Pætus Thrasea, see Annals, xvi. f. 28 and 35.

#### Section VI.

(a) When the love of honest fame becomes the ruling passion, good men are unwilling to resign it; and, accordingly, we often see it displayed in the last act of their lives.

(b) Helvidius was banished by Nero, Annals, xvi. f. 35. He returned to Rome among the exiles whom Galba restored to their country. See Hist. ii. f. 92.

(c) Eprinus Marcellus was the mortal enemy of Thrasea. See Annals, xvi. f. 28.

(d) The decree of the senate, by which the imperial prerogative was vested in the emperor, is usually called *Lex Regia*. Brotier says, the law passed in favour of Vespasian is still extant on a table of brass, carefully preserved at Rome. See his Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 487.

#### Section VII.

(a) Who Sentius was does not appear. Brotier thinks there is a mistake in the text, and that the true reading is Seneca, with whom Vespasian was, probably, connected in friendship.

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### *Section VIII.*

(a) Ambassadors, and deputies sent on particular occasions, were generally chosen by ballot, as appears in Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 17. See also Suetonius, in Aug. f. 35.

(b) See the speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea, Annals, xvi. f. 28.

### *Section IX.*

(a) For the managers of the *Ærarium*, or the public treasury, see Annals, xiii. f. 29.

(b) Helvidius contended for the independency of the senate. His enemies took care to store that circumstance in their minds for a future day. The ruin of this excellent man was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 22.

### *Section X.*

(a) Musonius Rufus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. f. 59; Annals, xv. f. 71; Hist. iii. f. 79.

(b) Egnatius Celer; Annals, xvi. f. 32.

(c) For Barea Soranus, see Annals, xii. f. 53; Annals, xvi. f. 21 and 23.

### *Section XI.*

(a) Calpurnius Galerianus was the son of Calpurnius Piso, who dispatched himself to avoid Nero's cruelty. Annals, xv. f. 59.

(b) Asiaticus was the favourite freedman of Vitellius. Hist. ii. f. 57. 95.

### *Section XII.*

(a) For the Batavi and the Catti, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 29.

(b) The Batavians served in Britain as the allies and auxiliaries of Rome. Life of Agricola, f. 18 and 36.

### *Section XIII.*

(a) Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis were brothers, as appears in



this book, f. 32. Civilis is called Julius Civilis, Hist. i. f. 59. Perhaps his name was Julius Claudius Civilis.

(b) For Hannibal's person, see Livy, lib. xxii; and for Sestorius, see his Life in Plutarch.

#### Section XIV.

(a) The Barbarians consulted about the operations of war at their carousing festivals, and frequently in their sacred groves. See the Manners of the Germans, f. 9 and 22. Brotier thinks the wood where Civilis held his convention, was between the Rhine and the Mosa (the *Meuse*), at a place now called *Dooden-Werd*.

#### Section XV.

(a) The Caninefates occupied the western part of the island of Batavia, as Brotier thinks, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*.

(b) For Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table.

(c) Caligula's wild expedition into Germany, A. U. C. 793.

(d) For the Frisii, see the Geographical Table.

(e) The part of the island now called *Betuwe*, or *Betaw*.

#### Section XVII.

(a) The defeat of Vindex at Vifontium in Gaul. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(b) Before tributes imposed, A. U. C. 769.

#### Section XVIII.

(a) For *Vetera*, or *Vetera Castra*, see the Geographical Table.

#### Section XIX.

(a) For Bonna, now *Bonn*, see the Geographical Table.

#### Section XXI.

(a) For the Bructeri and Tencteri, see the Geographical Table, and Annals, xiii. f. 56.

## Section XXII.

(a) The Barbarians carried the heads and images of wild beasts among their standards. See the Manners of the Germans, f. 7.

## Section XXVI.

(a) The observation which Tacitus has compressed into a maxim, is explained by Cicero in his more open style. Having mentioned a number of prodigies, he says, *Atque hæc in bello plura et majora videntur timentibus; eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo, cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur impuni.* Cicero de Divinatione, lib. ii. f. 27. This may account for the portents and prodigies which so often occur in the Roman historians, who are often said to be superstitious, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See the phænomena of this kind, Hist. i. f. 86.

(b) For Novesium, see the Geographical Table.

(c) For Gelduba, see the Geographical Table.

(d) The Gugerni, originally a people of Germany, inhabiting the country now called *Cleves* and *Gueldre*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*.

## Section XXVIII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) The Menapii and Morini, in the Geographical Table.

(c) Marcodurum. See the Geographical Table.

## Section XXX.

(a) The prætorian gate of a Roman camp was opposite to the Decuman. See Annals, i. f. 66.

(b) This extraordinary engine was invented by Archimedes, the celebrated geometrician, during the siege of Syracuse, which was conducted by Marcellus. See Polybius, lib. viii.

## Section XXXI.

(a) The victory at Cremona was about the end of October. Hist. iii. f. 22.

Section



*Section XXXIII.*

- (a) For Asciburgium, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) The Vascones inhabited the country of *Navarre*.
- (c) For Novesium and Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XXXVII.*

- (a) Vitellius died about the end of December.
- (b) For the Catti, Usipii, Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XXXVIII.*

- (a) The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.
- (b) To have plenty of corn is the only patriot care of the vulgar. Juvenal adds the love of spectacles in the circus :

———duas tantum res anxius optat,  
Panem et Circenses. SAT. x. ver. 80.

*Section XXXIX.*

(a) Brotier says that several works by Frontinus, which shew more labour than genius, are still extant ; such as, *Stratagemata*, *De Coloniis*, *De Aquæduclibus*. Being city-prætor, he convened the senate on the first of January in the absence of the consuls, Vespasian and his son Titus.

(b) Scribonianus Crassus was the brother of Piso, whom Galba adopted. Hist. i. f. 15 and 16.

*Section XL.*

(a) The calendar in Nero's time was filled with days of supplication and public thanks.

(b) See this book, f. 10.

(c) Demetrius attended Thrasea in his last moments. Annals, xvi. f. 35. And now the same defends the prosecutor of Soranus : such was the consistency of a philosopher by profession !

(d) See the praise of Junius Mauricus in Pliny the younger, lib. iv. epist. 22. See also Life of Agricola, f. 45.

*Section*

*Section XLI.*

(a) The two Scribonii, whose names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero, at the instigation of Pactius Africanus, A. U. C. 827. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 11.

(b) For Vibius Crispus, see History, ii. f. 10; and see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 8.

*Section XLII.*

(a) Messala, not of senatorian age, that is, not five-and-twenty.

(b) Regulus was a practised informer. Pliny calls him, *Bipedum nequissimus*. Lib. i. epist. 5. See lib. ii. epist. 20.

(c) Craffus Camerinus and Scribonianus Camerinus were accused by Regulus in the reign of Nero, and put to death. See Pliny, lib. i. epist. 5. Cornelius Orphitus was consul in the time of Claudius, A. U. C. 804. Annals, xii. f. 41. He was afterwards a time-serving orator under Nero, Annals, xvi. f. 12.

(d) Curtius Montanus is mentioned with contempt and ridicule; a man distinguished by the enormous size of his belly.

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.

SAT. iv. f. 107.

*Section XLIV.*

(a) The murder committed by Octavius Sabinus Sagitta is related more fully, Annals, xiii. f. 44.

(b) Antistius Sossianus was banished for his verses against Nero, Annals, xiv. f. 48. See also Annals, xvi. f. 14.

*Section XLV.*

(a) For Colonia Senensis, see the Geographical Table.

*Section XLVII.*

(a) Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was murdered by the Vitellians. Hist. iii. f. 74.

*Section*



*Section L.*

(a) For more of Bebius Massa, see Life of Agricola, f. 45. He is mentioned by Juvenal as a noted informer :

———Quem Massa timet, quem munera palpat  
Carus.

(b) For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table.

(c) For the cities of Ocenfis and Leptis, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LIII.*

(a) Lucius Vestinus was a native of *Vienne*, a city near Lyons.

(b) Upon all solemn occasions the Romans made choice of men whose names they thought auspicious. See Cicero De Divinatione, lib. i. f. 102.

(c) The splendour and magnificence of the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter are described by Plutarch, Life of Poplicola.

*Section LIV.*

(a) The order of Druids had been suppressed in Gaul by Tiberius. Pliny, lib. xxx. f. 4 ; and the emperor Claudius extinguished their religion. Suetonius, in Claud. f. 25. It is probable, therefore, that a race of Druids was sent from Britain.

*Section LV.*

(a) For the Ubii, Tungri, Treviri, and Lingones, see the Geographical Table.

*Section LVI.*

(a) Betafii, inhabitants of what is now called *Brabant*.

*Section LVII.*

(a) For Sacrovir, see Annals, iii. f. 46.

(b) For Vindex, and the revolt in Gaul under his conduct, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 12.

*Section LXI.*

(a) To bind themselves by a solemn vow not to clip their hair or  
beard,

beard, till they had accomplished their revenge, was usual among Barbarians. The custom obtained in civilized nations, infomuch that Suetonius tells us of Julius Cæsar, *Milites diligebat usque adeo, ut, audita clade Titurianâ, barbam capillumque summisserit, nec ante dēmpserit, quam vindicasset.* Suet. in Jul. Cæs. f. 67. See also the Manners of the Germans.

(b) For *Veleda*, and other prophetic women, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 8.

Section LXII.

(a) A squadron of cavalry raised by the people of Picentia, whose territory, called *Ager Picentinus*, lay on the Tuscan Sea.

Section LXIV.

(a) The Romans kept the nations in subjection, not so much by their arms, as by the allurements of pleasure, which they called civilization. See the Life of Agricola, f. 21.

Section LXVI.

(a) For the Sunici, see the Geographical Table.

Section LXVII.

(a) Tables of brass, on which was engraved the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Lingones.

(b) For the Sequani, see the Geographical Table.

(c) The account here promised of Eponina's fidelity has not come down to us. She was discovered in a cavern with Sabinus her husband, nine years afterwards, and with him conveyed to Rome. Plutarch, who relates the particulars, says that her death was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 23.

(d) The Remi inhabited what is now called the diocese of *Reims*.

Section LXIX.

(a) See Appendix to Annals, xvi.



## Section LXX.

- (a) The country about *Bruges*.
- (b) The Rhæti, now the *Grifons*.
- (c) Vangiones, now the diocese of *Worms*.
- (d) For Bingium, see the Geographical Table.
- (e) Nava, a river that runs into the Rhine. See the Geographical Table.
- (f) Mediomatrici, now the diocese of *Metz*.

## Section LXXI.

- (a) Rigodulum ; now *Rigol*, on the *Moselle*, near *Treves*.

## Section LXXIII.

- (a) See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 8 and 12 ; Plutarch, in Mario ; and Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, vol. i. p. 13.
- (b) For Ariovistus, the German chief who pushed his conquests in Gaul, see Cæsar De Bell. Gall. lib. i. f. 31.

## Section LXXIV.

- (a) No tribute was required from the Gauls, but what was absolutely necessary for the support of government.
- (b) Seneca expresses himself to the same effect: *Omnia itaque sic patitur sapiens, ut hiemis rigorem, et intemperantiam cæli, ut fervores morbosque, et cætera forte accidentia*. Seneca, De Constantiâ Sapientis, cap. 9. Pope has said in the same spirit:

If plagues or earthquakes break not Heav'n's design,  
Why then a BORGIA or a CATILINE ?

## Section LXXVI.

- (a) The Treviri and Lingones had been persuaded by Cerealis to lay down their arms.

## Section LXXVII.

- (a) Hordeonius Flaccus and Vocula were murdered by their own soldiers. Numisus and Herennius died by the sword of the enemy.

Section

## Section LXXIX.

(a) Tolbiacum, now *Zulpich*, in the diocese of *Cologne*.

(b) Brotier says, a military road may still be traced from *Gefforiacum* (now *Boulogne*) to *Atualuca*, the capital of the *Tungri*; now *Tongres*, in the bishopric of *Liege*.

## Section LXXX.

(a) The son of Vitellius, called Germanicus, Hist. ii. f. 59.

(b) See Hist. ii. f. 86.

(c) Cæcina was kept in chains by his own soldiers, Hist. iii. f. 31.

## Section LXXXI.

(a) It is not clear that Tacitus placed any faith in this extraordinary story. He says, indeed, that the two miracles were attested by men who were eye-witnesses, and had no longer any interest to corrupt their testimony. But that very observation implies that there might have been, at the point of time, *mendacio pretium*: if so, men, who have been the authors of a lie, are not always willing to convict themselves. It is moreover evident that they might have been imposed upon. We see that Vespasian was afraid of exposing himself to public ridicule, and therefore consulted the physicians, who reported that the two men were curable; and in consequence of that opinion, Vespasian was willing to hazard the attempt, as Suetonius says, before a public assembly, *palam pro concione*. The physicians, it is highly probable, produced the two patients, when they had by their previous arts ensured the emperor's success. The story is not related by Tacitus with the air of a man who believed the fact: he has elsewhere given his reason for sometimes admitting the improbable into his narrative: *Vulgetis tradit: sive demere fidem non auiam*. Voltaire seems to be the only writer who has endeavoured to establish this miraculous cure. He says, *De toutes les guérisons miraculeuses, les plus attestées, les plus authentiques sont celles de cet aveugle, à qui l'empereur Vespasien rendit la vue, et de ce paralytic auquel il rendit l'usage de ses membres. Ce n'est pas lui qui cherche à se faire valoir par des prestiges, dont un monarque affermi n'a pas besoin.*



Voltaire's reason for giving credit to the story is highly unfortunate. Vespasian was far from being established in the imperial seat. Suetonius expressly says, he was not then possessed of the sovereign majesty: *Autoritas et quasi majestas quædam novo principi deerat*. See Suetonius, in Vesp. f. 7. The new emperor was advised by his friends to act his part on the occasion. The pretended power of working miracles was thought good policy. Voltaire does not appear to have examined the story with due attention. It is well known that his remarks are often made with a sinister purpose.

(b) In case of sickness, it was the custom of the common people, by the advice of the Ægyptian priests, to abstain from food, and lie in the Temple of Serapis, stretched on the skins of victims slain at the altar. Hence the distempered visions of crazed imaginations, which were considered as *light divine and prophecy*.

(c) Suetonius relates the two miracles; but what Tacitus calls a paralytic hand, he says was a *paralytic leg*. In Vesp. f. 7.

(d) Tacitus wrote his History in the reign of Trajan, when the Vespasian or Flavian family was extinct.

#### Section LXXXII.

(a) This account of Vespasian and Basilides is related by Suetonius, in Vesp. f. 7.

(b) The name of Basilides, from the Greek word βασιλεὺς, gave Vespasian stronger hopes of attaining the sovereign power.

#### Section LXXXIII.

(a) The descendants of Eumolpus, called Eumolpidæ, were the priests of Ceres, who presided over the rites, called, from the town of *Eleusis*, the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

(b) For Sinope, see the Geographical Table.

#### Section LXXXIV.

(a) For the city of Rhacatis, see the Geographical Table.

(b) For Memphis, see the Geographical Table.

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### Section LXXXV.

(a) Valentinus, mentioned in this book, f. 71.

### Section LXXXVI.

(a) Domitian is praised by Silius Italicus for the ability and conduct with which he ended the Batavian war.

At tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,  
Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo.

Lib. iii. ver. 607.

But Silius Italicus offered the incense of a poet to the reigning prince. Cerealis was the general that conquered the Batavian chief. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 1.

(b) Domitian is highly praised by Quintilian for his love of literature; lib. x. cap. 1; and also by Silius Italicus, lib. iii. ver. 618. Suetonius agrees with Tacitus: *Simulavit et ipse modestiam, imprimisque poeticæ studium, tam insuetum antea sibi, quàm postea spretum et abjectum.* Suetonius, in Domit. f. 2.



N O T E S  
ON THE  
F I F T H B O O K  
OF  
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*Section I.*

(a) **T**ITUS served with his father in Britain, in Germany, and Judæa. Suetonius, in Vesp. f. 4; in Tito, f. 4.

(b) See an account of the army under Titus; Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 6.

*Section II.*

(a) This account of the origin of the Jewish nation has been the subject of much elaborate criticism. The commentators are not a little surprised that an historian, of an enlarged and comprehensive mind, should not have thought it worth his while to gain the most exact information concerning a people, whose final ruin he was to relate. That neglect is still more surprising, when it is considered that, in the reign of Trajan, when Tacitus published his work, the page of Jewish history was fully disclosed, and accessible to the curiosity of every Roman. Josephus lived at Rome, under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and under the last of those emperors his History of the War in Judæa was published. Tacitus, however, neglecting all these advantages, has given an account so mixed with fable, that the gleam of truth, which breaks out in one short passage, is almost extinguished by the surrounding rubbish. He deduces the origin of the Jews from five different

nations; namely, the Cretans, the Ægyptians, the Æthiopians, the Assyrians, and the Solymans mentioned by Homer. These various opinions are reported with an air of indecision that leaves the reader to choose for himself. The Jews, it is true, were beheld by the Romans with contempt and detestation. Tacitus charges the whole nation with a fixed and fullen hatred of all mankind; *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*; and it is therefore probable, that, with regard to such a race, he did not think it necessary to enter into a minute enquiry, though the materials were within his reach; and it is certain that no people whatever have been so careful to preserve the proofs of their descent from a single founder, and to transmit to posterity the regular genealogy of their several families.

(b) This was the fabulous tradition of the Greeks, who deduced all things from Jupiter and Saturn, and were at great pains to embellish and disseminate their own mythology.

(c) The Æthiopians, according to Pliny the elder, lib. vi. f. 29, were in remote ages a great and powerful people. They held Ægypt in subjection, and were the founders of an empire in Syria. Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities has a tradition, that Moses commanded armies in Æthiopia. Hence the Jews were said to have issued from Æthiopia.

(d) We have in this passage something that borders on the truth. Abraham went forth from the Ur of the Chaldees; Genesis, xi. ver. 31. He went into Ægypt to sojourn there, Genesis, xii. ver. 10. The history of his posterity in Ægypt, and the journey into Syria and the land of Canaan, clearly prove the descent of the Jews from Abraham, and throw a light upon what our author says of their Assyrian origin. Tacitus, however, not having investigated the fact, gives the various opinions that were floating in the world, and leaves the truth to rest on better authority.

(e) Homer was held in such high veneration throughout Greece, that his verses often decided the limits of disputed lands, and threw a lustre round every state or people recorded in his poems.



## Section III.

(a) Justin mentions this epidemic distemper, and calls it *scabiem ac vitiliginem*; that is, the leprosy. Justin, lib. xxxvi. f. 2. We now know that it was inflicted by God, who said to Pharaoh, *Let my people go that they may serve me; and if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, there shall be a very grievous murrain.* See Exodus, ix. ver. 1, 2, 3, and 10. That the passage through the Red Sea should be omitted by Tacitus, Brotier observes, cannot be matter of wonder, since it is related even by Josephus in a manner that adds no authenticity to the miracle.

(b) The oracle of Jupiter Hammon is mentioned by Pliny, lib. v. f. 9. *In Cyrenaicâ Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclitæ.* See also Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 8.

(c) In the wide plains of Arabia.

(d) And they went three days in the Wilderness, and found no water. Exodus, xv. ver. 22.

(e) This discovery of springs in a shady grove calls to mind what Moses tells us: *And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees.* Exodus, xv. ver. 27. Where Tacitus found the romantic incident of the troop of wild asses, does not appear. The story is amusing, and probably was adopted in the narrative, to prepare the reader for the consecration of that animal, as mentioned in the following section.

(f) Brotier observes, that a journey into Palestine, through the deserts of Arabia, could not be performed in six days, as it appears, in the Memoirs of the French Missionaries in the Levant, tom. vii. p. 5, that father Sicard went over that whole tract of country, and did not reach Mount Sinai till the thirtieth day. Brotier adds, that in what Tacitus relates, something like the truth is still to be found, since we are told that Joshua and the children of Israel went round the city of Jericho once, and continued so to do SIX DAYS, and on the SEVENTH DAY, which was the sabbath, entered the city; and, having extirpated the inhabitants, became masters of the country, where David built a city,

city, and Solomon dedicated a temple. See Joshua, vi. ver. 3, 20, and 21.

Section IV.

(a) Moses introduced a system of religion very different from the polytheism and superstitious ceremonies of the Romans. Tacitus speaks with marked disapprobation, but the errors of prejudice have been long since refuted.

(b) Whatever was sacred at Rome, was, beyond all doubt, profane at Jerusalem. The Jews worshipped one God, and, by consequence, the Pagan mythology fell into contempt.

(c) The veneration here said to have been paid in the Temple to the image of an ass, is refuted by Tacitus himself, who says, in the following section, that the Jews suffered no consecrated statues or images to be erected either in their cities or their temples. *Nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt.* He tells us afterwards, that when Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and made his entry into the Temple, he found neither statues nor images, but a void and empty tabernacle. *Nullâ intus deûm effigie, vacuum sedem, et inania arcana.* See this book, f. 9.

(d) An ox or calf was worshipped at Memphis as a god, under the name of Apis. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 20. The Jews, before they were instructed in the knowledge of the true God, were willing, in imitation of the Ægyptians, to worship a golden calf. Exodus, xxxii. ver. 4. But the sacrifices in contempt of Jupiter Hammon, and the superstitious rites of Memphis, are not vouched by any good authority. Whoever killed an ox, or lamb, or goat, was ordered to bring it as an offering at the tabernacle. Leviticus, xvii.

(e) The leprosy, described in Leviticus, xiii. and xiv.

(f) There was scarce a month in the Jewish calendar without a number of fast-days; but they were instituted to record signal events, not in commemoration of the famine in the desert.

(g) The unleavened bread, mentioned Exodus, xii. 8. It was not, as Tacitus insinuates, their common food; it was, as we read in



Deuteronomy, xvi. the *bread of affliction*, which they were to eat for seven days, in memory of the day when they came forth out of the land of Ægypt.

(b) The seventh day was a day of rest, but not for the reason given by Tacitus: it was the sabbath of the Lord; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it. Exodus, xx. ver. 10, 11.

(i) The seventh year was also a year of rest, not for the sake of sluggish inactivity, but in consequence of an express command: *Six years thou shalt sow the field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard; but the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord.* Leviticus, xxv. ver. 3 and 4. There was still another sabbath of more importance: *The space of seven sabbaths of years shall be forty-nine years, and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year; for it is the jubilee, it shall be holy unto you.* Leviticus, xxv. ver. 8, 9, and 10. Josephus says that Julius Cæsar, when he imposed an annual tribute on the Jewish nation, made an exception of the seventh year, which was called the sabbath, when the people neither reaped nor sowed. See Cæsar's decree, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. cap. 10.

(k) It was natural enough that they, who deduced the origin of the Jews from the inhabitants of Mount Ida, should consider the sabbath as an institution in honour of Saturn; but that hypothesis has been sufficiently refuted in the two last notes.

(l) The orbit which Saturn describes is at a greater distance from the sun than any planet in the solar system: but judicial astrology has been long considered as a vain exploded science.

(m) Tacitus says that the life of man is governed by the revolutions of the seven planets: that doctrine was not only taught by the Ægyptian and Pythagorean philosophy, but has been adopted by modern astrologers. Hence the calculation proceeding by a series of seven years to the grand climacteric, at the age of sixty-three. The Jews, however, had very different reasons for their sabbaths of years.

## Section V.

(a) The force of national prejudice was never more strongly displayed. Tacitus thought nothing orthodox but the creed of his own country; and, in his eyes, the depravity of the Jews consisted in preferring the worship of one God to Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and the rest of the monstrous deities with which superstition had peopled heaven.

(b) The Jews were not entirely confined within the limits of Palestine; they went forth in quest of gain, and settled in every quarter where trade and commerce flourished. Wherever they fixed, they retained their own principles, and despised the established religion of the place. This is called *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Not being able to attend the tabernacle with their offerings, they collected among themselves a considerable treasure, and sent it as an annual tribute to the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence the immense heaps of gold and silver that fell into the hands of the Romans; and hence the Jews were said to love one another, and to hate the rest of mankind.

(c) It is not necessary to cite from Deuteronomy the laws against adultery, and the virgins of Israel that suffered themselves to be seduced. Tacitus transfers the guilt of individuals to the whole nation.

(d) Circumcision is called a token of the covenant. Genesis, xvii. ver. 2. This shews that it was not derived from the Ægyptians, according to the notion entertained by some of the learned.

(e) The Romans had power of life and death over their own children, and were not willing to be encumbered with a numerous issue.

(f) It is certain that the Hebrews interred their dead, since Abraham's burying-place is frequently mentioned in scripture. That the Ægyptians buried their dead, is plain from their usage of embalming them. It is probable that the practice of burning the bodies of the deceased sprung originally from a design to prevent any outrage to the bodies from their enemies. Sylla, among the Romans, was the first of his family who ordered his body to be burnt, lest the barbarities which he had exercised on the remains of Marius should be retaliated on his own. Cicero says, *Proculdubio cremandi ritus a Græcis venit, nam sepultum*



*legimus Numam ad Anienis fontem, totique genti Corneliæ solenne fuisse sepulchrum usque ad Syllam, qui primus ex eâ gente crematus est.* Tully De Legibus, lib. 2.

(g) The Ægyptians believed in a state of future rewards and punishments. See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. f. 51.

(h) The Jews believed in one God; the Ægyptians were polytheists, and even worshipped brute animals; *Omnigenumque deum monstra.*

(i) We have here a sublime idea of one great, supreme, and governing Mind; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is astonishing that Tacitus did not pause in deep reflection upon what he could so well describe.

(k) No mention is made in any part of the Bible of Jewish priests crowned with ivy. A vine, wrought in gold, of prodigious weight, is mentioned by Josephus as a magnificent ornament. See Jewish Antiquities, book xv. chap. 11.

(l) The Roman *dies festus* signified a day consecrated to joy, and song, and dance, and public spectacles. It was otherwise with the Jews. At stated periods they commemorated public misfortunes; and grief, and fasting, sackcloth and ashes distinguished their religious ceremonies, wholly different from the rites of Bacchus, and therefore called absurd and fordid. Tacitus, it must be said, has given us an unfavourable picture of the Jews. Voltaire has painted them in harsher colours; but he concludes that they ought to be exempted from the fires of the Inquisition: *Il ne faut pas pourtant les bruler.*

#### Section VI.

(a) Arabia extended from Ægypt to Chaldæa, and from the Euphrates, which washes Syria, to the Arabian gulf. It is divided into three parts, viz. *Arabia Felix*, *Petræa*, and *Deserta*.

(b) The snow of *Lebanon* is mentioned, Jeremiah, xviii. ver. 14.

(c) Now, the *Jourdain*. See an elegant description of this river, Pliny, lib. v. f. 15.

(d) The first of the lakes is Samachonites, mentioned by Josephus; the second Cinnereth, by Joshua; the third Asphaltus, called by Milton

on the Asphaltic Pool, by others Mare Mortuum, from the immobility of its waters. It is said by Josephus to be seventy miles in length, and in some places twelve or thirteen in breadth.

(e) All travellers agree in stating the noxious taste and smell of the Asphaltic Lake. See Pococke, Description of the East, tom. ii. p. 37, where we also read that the water, impregnated with salt and sulphur, or *bitumen*, weighs much more than fresh water, and consequently lets nothing sink. Pliny says of this lake, *Asphaltites nihil prater bitumen, gignit; unde nomen: Tauri camelique fluitant. Inde fama nihil in eo mergi.* Pliny, lib. v. f. 16. It is related by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to make an experiment, ordered some prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, to be thrown into the lake, when they all emerged and floated on the surface. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. ver. 8.

(f) Brotier says, upon the authority of an eminent traveller in the east, that the slime, or *bitumen*, by the Greeks called *asphalte*, is thrown up on the surface of the waters during the autumn, probably from the places mentioned in the Bible. *The vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea, was full of slime-pits.* Genesis, xiv. ver. 3 and 10. And this concretion, after floating for some time, is driven by the wind to the shore, where it is carefully collected by the Arabs for their own use and profit, after delivering a certain proportion to the Bassa of Jerusalem.

#### Section VII.

(a) The cities were Sodom, Gomorrah, Admak, Zebaiim. Genesis, xiv. ver. 2. *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain.* Genesis, xix. ver. 24 and 25.

(b) Belus, a river of Galilee, running from the foot of Mount Carmel, and emptying itself into the Mediterranean. Strabo says that the whole coast has a sand fit for glass, but that the sand of the river Belus is the best sort. Here the art of making glass was first discovered. See Pliny, lib. v. f. 19.

#### Section VIII.

(a) Justin informs us that the power of Demetrius I. and his successors, kings of Syria, not being supported with vigour, the Jews took



took their opportunity to shake off a foreign yoke, and assert their liberty. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. ver. 1 and 3. In confirmation of this, we read in Maccabees a treaty between Demetrius and Simon the high priest, A. U. C. 611; before Christ 143: and thus *the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.* 1 Maccabees, xiii. ver. 41 and 42.

#### Section IX.

(a) Pompey made himself master of Jerusalem, A. U. C. 691; before Christ 63. He entered the Temple and the Holy of Holies; but, according to Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 4, abstained from plunder, content with imposing an annual tribute. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 5; and Cicero, *pro Flacco*, f. 28.

(b) This passage affords another proof that the effigy of an ass was not consecrated in the temple, as mentioned by Tacitus. This book, f. 4.

(c) Brotier observes that Pacorus was son of Orodes, king of Parthia, and therefore thinks it probable that Tacitus wrote *F. R. Parthorum Pacorus*, that is, *Filius Regis Parthorum Pacorus*. He was sent by his father ORODES to wage war in Judæa, A. U. C. 714; and in the following year defeated and put to death by Ventidius, the favourite general of Marc Antony. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 13, 14, and 15.

(d) Herod. was raised to the throne by Marc Antony, A. U. C. 714, and his title was confirmed by a decree of the senate, A. U. C. 717. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 26 and 28.

(e) The Simon mentioned in this place, must not be confounded with the chief of that name, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, and afterwards executed at Rome. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 20.

(f) Caligula had the frantic ambition to have his statue placed in the Temple of Jerusalem; but the Jews had recourse to arms: another  
proof

proof of their resolution not to suffer the tabernacle to be profaned by images of any kind. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 4.

(g) See Annals, xii. f. 23.

(b) Felix was brother to Pallas, the favourite freedman and minister of the emperor Claudius. Annals, xii. f. 54. Suetonius, in Claud. f. 28.

(i) Claudius was son of Antonia, the daughter of Marc Antony. See the Genealogical Table, No. 100.

*Section X.*

(a) The Jewish war, occasioned by the misconduct of Cassius Florus, began A. U. C. 818; of Christ 65. See Appendix to Hist. v. f. 4.

(b) For more of Cestius Gallus, see Appendix to Hist. v. f. 4.

(c) Vespasian's rapid success against the Jews was A. U. C. 820 and 821.

(d) See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 2. Titus's first camp was near the Mount of Olives. See D'Anville's plan.

*Section XI.*

(a) See Appendix to this book, f. 5.

(b) See Appendix, f. 5; and D'Anville's plan.

*Section XII.*

(a) For a description of the Temple, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5; and Appendix to this book, f. 5.

(b) Pompey had destroyed the outward walls of Jerusalem, as mentioned in this book, f. 9. The fortifications we find were made stronger than ever. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 4.

(c) For the several conquered cities, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 10.

(d) The factions that distracted the city of Jerusalem, attacked one another with a degree of animosity more inveterate than they ever shewed in battle with the Romans.

(e) See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 6.



*Section XIII.*

(a) When the Romans heard of a monstrous birth, or were told that a cow spoke, their priests employed superstitious rites and sacrifices to avert impending danger. The Jews were not so easily alarmed; but however inclined they had formerly been to propitiate Heaven by prayer and sacrifice, their final doom was drawing nigh, as foretold by Christ. St. Matthew, xxiv; St. Mark, xiii; St. Luke, xxi.

(b) For these prodigies, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5; and see Appendix to this book, f. 6.

(c) Tacitus condemns the Jews for not rightly understanding a prophecy, which he himself has misapplied. But it is evident that it could not relate to the short reign of Vespasian and his two sons. The Christian religion was at that time striking root in Judæa, and we know it has been since extended over the world. We cannot, however, wonder at the misconception of Tacitus, when it is considered that Josephus, willing, perhaps, to pay his court to the imperial family, did not hesitate to say that the prophecy related to Vespasian. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5.

(d) Josephus says that eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 9.

*Section XIV.*

(a) For Vetera Castra, see the Geographical Table. Civilis had made himself master of the place; Hist. iv. f. 60.

*Section XVII.*

(a) See the Manners of the Germans, f. 11.

*Section XIX.*

(a) Annius Gallus has been mentioned, Hist. iv. f. 68.

(b) Those towns lay between the *Meuse* (*Mosa*) and the *Rhine*, supposed to be *Gennep*, *Cleves*, and *Nimeguen*.

(c) For the bank raised by Drusus, see Annals, xiii. f. 53.

(d) We have seen a senate and magistrates among the Frisians, Annals, xi. f. 19.

*Section XX.*

- (a) For Arenacum and Batavodurum, see the Geographical Table.
- (b) Grinnes and Vada: see the Geographical Table.

*Section XXI.*

- (a) See Hist. iv. f. 70.

*Section XXII.*

- (a) Luppia, now the *Lippe*. See the Geographical Table. For Veleda, see Hist. iv. f. 61.

*Section XXIII.*

- (a) For the mouth of the *Meuse*, see Annals, ii. f. 6.

*Section XXVI.*

- (a) Nabalia, the channel made by Drusus: see the Geographical Table.

(b) Letters from Antonius, exciting Civilis to a war, in order to hinder the legions on the Rhine from marching to support Vitellius in Italy. See Hist. iv. f. 13.

(c) The rest of the History is lost, and with it the siege of Jerusalem, with the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

FIVE BOOKS OF THE HISTORY.



N O T E S  
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*Section II.*

- (a) **S**EE Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

*Section III.*

- (a) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 10.

- (b) Hist. v. f. 1.

*Section IV.*

- (a) Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 10.

*Section V.*

- (a) Hist. v. f. 11.

- (b) Fenton's tragedy, entitled Herod and Mariamne, is known to every reader of taste.

- (c) Tacitus says, *Templum in modum arcis*; this book, f. 12.

*Section VI.*

- (a) Josephus gives the same account.

*Section VII.*

- (a) *When you shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judæa flee to the*

*the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter therein.* St. Luke, xxi. ver. 20 and 21.

Section VIII.

(a) Hist. i. f. 1.

Section XI.

(a) See Hist. v. f. 12. *Missis, per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleagarum manumque ejus obtruncarent.*

Section XVI.

(a) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. f. 10.

(b) See Hist. v. f. 13; and note (c).

Section XVII.

(a) *Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.* St. Matthew, xxiv. ver. 2.

Section XIX.

(a) In the tribe of flatterers that gathered round the emperor, the most officious was Phebus, Nero's freedman, who hoped by adulation to expiate the insolence of his behaviour on a former occasion, when Vespasian had been guilty of the crime of falling asleep while Nero sung. Vespasian asked the freedman what he should do to appease Nero's indignation. "*Go, and hang yourself,*" replied Phebus. This man in confusion threw himself at the feet of the new prince: Vespasian, with a smile, repeated, "*Go, and hang yourself,*" and, content with that reproach, left the sycophant to himself.

Section XXI.

(a) Saleius Bassus, a poet of eminence, received a considerable present from Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 9.

(b) See Suetonius in Vespas. f. 3.

(c) The loves of Titus and Berenice, though not the best chosen subject for dramatic fable, became, in the last century, the favourite exhibition of the French stage. Corneille and Racine, the two great



poets of that country, entered the lists, and, like the bards of Greece at the Olympic games, contended with each other for the laurel crown. It happened that a princess of France, sister to Louis XIV. requested a play on the subject of Titus and Berenice from the pen of Racine. The poet complied; and while he was at work, Corneille received the like solicitation from Henrietta of England, Duchess of Orleans. The two plays were acted in 1670, at different theatres. That of Corneille had no success; Racine's had a run of thirty nights. Fontenelle observed upon the occasion, that it was a *combat* between two eminent men, and the youngest gained the victory.

#### Section XXII.

(a) Suetonius relates the fact, in Vesp.

(b) Tacitus says of Agricola, *Non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse.* See the whole passage, Life of Agricola, f. 42.

#### Section XXIII.

(a) Tacitus mentions the escape of Julius Sabinus from the field of battle, where his countrymen, the Lingones, suffered a dreadful slaughter; and the historian promises, in proper time and place, to relate how he lay concealed in dens and caverns for nine years afterwards, supported, during the whole time, by the fidelity and unaltered affection of his wife EPONINA. See Hist. iv. f. 67. The defeat of Sabinus was A. U. C. 823. He and his wife were put to death at Rome, A. U. C. 831; but unfortunately that part of our author's work has not survived the injury of time.

(b) For this fragment of history, see Plutarch's AMATORIUS, or the Lover.

(c) Tacitus says, *Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitiâ principis inter-*  
*ciderunt?* See Life of Agricola, f. 3.

# GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

O R,

## INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES

THAT OCCUR IN THIS VOLUME.

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**A**.  
**ACHAIA**, a part of Peloponnesus; but in Tacitus generally all Greece.

**ACTIUM**, a promontory of Epirus, famous for the victory of Augustus over Marc Antony.

**ADDUA**, a river rising in the country of the *Grifons*, and in its course separating Milan from the territory of the Venetians, till it falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona. It is now called the *Adda*.

**ADRUMETUM**, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about seventeen miles from Leptis Minor.

**AFRICA** generally means in Tacitus that part which was made a Roman province, of which Carthage was the capital; now the territory of *Tunis*.

**AGRIPPINENSIS COLONIA**, so called from Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, and afterwards wife of the emperor Claudius. The place is now called *Cologne*, situate on the Rhine.

**ALBIUM INTEMELIUM**; now *Vintimiglia*, south-west of the territory of Genoa, with a port on the Mediterranean, between *Monaco* and *S. Remo*.

**ALBINGANUM**; now *Albinga*, to the west of the territory of Genoa, at the mouth of the river *Cente*.

**ALLIA**, a river of Italy, running into the Tiber, about forty miles from Rome; famous for the slaughter of the Romans by the Gauls, under Brennus.

**ALEXANDRIA**, a principal city of Ægypt,

built by Alexander the Great, on the Mediterranean; famous for the library begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and consisting at last of seven hundred thousand volumes, till in Cæsar's expedition it was destroyed by fire.

**ALLOBROGES**, a people of Narbon Gaul, situate between the Rhodanus and the Lacus Lemanus.

**ALPES**, a range of high mountains separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. They are distinguished into different parts, under several names, such as, the *Maritime Alps*, near Genoa; the *Cottian Alps*, separating Dauphiné from Piedmont; the *Graian Alps*, beginning from Mount Cenis, where the *Cottian* terminate, and extending to Great St. Bernard; the *Pennine Alps*, extending from west to east to the *Rhetian Alps*, the *Alpes Noricæ*, and the *Pannonian Alps*, as far as the springs of the *Kulps*. Their height in some places is almost incredible. They are called *Alpes*, from *Alpen*, a Celtic term for high mountains.

**ALTINUM**, a town in the territory of Venice, on the Adriatic; now in ruins, except a tower, still retaining the name of *Altino*.

**ANAGNIA**, a town of ancient Latium; now *Anagni*, thirty-six miles to the east of Rome.

**ANTIOCHIA**, the capital of Syria, called *Epidaphne*, to distinguish it from other cities of the name of Antioch. It is now called *Antakia*.

**ANTIPOLIS**, now *Antibes*, on the coast of



of Provence, about three leagues to the west of *Nice*.

APENNINUS, now the *Apennine*, a ridge of mountains running through the middle of Italy, extremely high, yet short of the *Alps*. Its name is Celtic, signifying a high mountain.

AQUILEIA, a large city of the Veneti, and formerly a Roman colony, near the river *Natiso*, which runs into the gulf of Venice.

AQUITANIA, a division of Ancient Gaul, bounded by the *Garumna* (now *Garonne*), by the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

AQUINUM, a town of the Ancient Latins; now *Aquino*, but almost in ruins.

ARABIA, an extensive country of Asia, reaching from Ægypt to Chaldaea. It is divided into three parts, *Arabia Petraea*, *Deserta*, and *Felix*.

ARENACUM, an ancient town in the island of Batavia; now *Arnheim*, in Guelderland.

ARICIA, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about a hundred and sixty stadia from Rome. The grove, called *Aricinum Nemus*, was in the vicinity.

ARIMINUM, a town of Umbria, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice.

ARMENIA, a kingdom of Asia, having Albania and Iberia to the north, Mount Taurus and Mesopotamia to the south, Media on the east, and the Euphrates to the west.

ARVERNI, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting near the Loire: their chief city *Arvernium*; now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCIBURGIUM, a citadel on the Rhine, where the Romans stationed a camp and a garrison.

ATESTE, a town in the territory of Venice, situate to the south of Patavium.

ATRIA, a town of the Veneti, on the river Tartarus, between the Padus and the Athetis, now the *Adige*.

AUGUSTA TAURINORUM, a town of the Taurini, at the foot of the Alps; now *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*.

AURIA, an ancient town of Spain; now *Orense*, in Galicia.

AVENTICUM, the capital of the Helvetii; by the Germans called *Wifisburg*, by the French *Avenches*.

## B.

BATAVIA, an island formed by two branches of the Rhine and the German Sea. See *Annals*, ii. f. 6; and the *Manners of the Germans*, f. 29, note (a).

BATAVODURUM, a town in the island of Batavia; now, as some of the commentators say, *Wyk-te-Duurstede*.

BEERYACUM, or BEDRYACUM, a village situate between Verona and Cremona; famous for two successive defeats; that of Otho, and soon after that of Vitellius.

BERYTUS, now *Barut*, in Phœnicia.

BETASII, the people inhabiting the country now called *Brabant*.

BOETICA, one of the provinces into which Augustus Cæsar divided the Farther Spain.

BOII, a people of Celtic Gaul, in the country now called *Bourbonnois*. There was also a nation of the same name in Germany. See *Manners of the Germans*, f. 28.

BONNA, now *Bonn*, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

BONONIA, a town of Italy; now *Bologna*, capital of the *Bolognese*.

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus, about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian road.

BRIGANTES, the ancient inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*.

BRIXIA, a town of Italy, on this side of the Po; now *Brescia*.

BRIXELLUM, the town where Otho dispatched himself after the defeat at *Bedriacum*; now *Bresello*, in the territory of *Reggio*.

BRUCTERI, a people of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, f. 33.

BRUNDISIUM, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording a convenient passage to Greece.

BYZANTIUM, a city of Thrace; now *Constantinople*.

## C.

CALABRIA, a peninsula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brundisium.

CAMPANIA, a territory in Italy, bounded on the west by the Tuscan Sea; a most fruitful country; now *Terra di Lavoro*.

CANINEFATES, a people inhabiting part of the island of Batavia.

CAPPADOCIA, an extensive country in Asia Minor, upon the Euxine Sea.

CAPUA,



CAPUA, now *Capoa*, a city in the kingdom of Naples; the seat of pleasure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

CARTHAGO, a city in Africa, the well-known rival of Rome, supposed to be built by Dido seventy years after the foundation of Rome. *Carthago Nova* was a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena*.

CARMEL, a mountain in Galilee, on the Mediterranean.

CARSULÆ, a town of Umbria, about twenty miles from Mevania; now in ruins.

CASPIUM MARE, from north to south eight days sail, and from east to west no less than fourteen, as found on a survey by the *Czar*, Peter the Great.

CATTI, inhabitants of what is now called *Hesse*, in Germany.

CÆRACATES, probably the diocese of *Mayence*.

CÆSAREA, a maritime town in Palestine; now *Kaisarië*.

CHAUCI, a people of Germany, inhabiting what we now call *East Friseland*, *Bremen*, and *Lunenbourg*. See *Manners of the Germans*, f. 35.

COMMAGENE, a district of Syria, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, and towards the north by Mount Taurus.

CORSICA, an island in the part of the Mediterranean called the Sea of Liguria, in length from north to south about an hundred and fifty miles, and about fifty where broadest. To the south it is separated from Sardinia by a narrow channel.

CORINTHUS, a city of Achaia, on the south part of the Isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to the Continent. From its situation between two seas, Horace says,

*Bimarivæ Corinthi menia.*

The city was taken and burnt to the ground by Mummius the Roman general, A. U. C. 608. It was afterwards restored to its ancient splendour, and made a Roman colony. It retains the name of *Corinth*.

CREMERA, a river of Tuscany, falling into the Tiber, a little to the north of Rome, rendered famous by the slaughter of the Fabii.

CREMONA, a city of Italy, built A. U. C. 536, and afterwards, in the year 822, raised to the ground by the army of Vespasian, in the war with Vitellius. It was soon rebuilt by the citizens, with the ex-

hortations of Vespasian. It is now a flourishing city in the duchy of Milan, and retains the name of Cremona.

CYPRUS, a noble island opposite to the coast of Syria, formerly sacred to Venus, whence she was called the Cyprian goddess.

CYRENE, the capital of Cyrenaica, a district of Africa. It stood about eleven miles from the sea, and had an excellent harbour.

CYTHNUS, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea.

#### D.

DACIA, a country extending between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains, to the mouth of the Danube, and to the Euxine, comprising a part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia. The inhabitants to the west, towards Germany, were called *Daci*; those to the east towards the Euxine were called *Getae*. The whole country was reduced by Trajan to a Roman province.

DALMATIA, an extensive country bordering on Macedonia and Mæsia, with the Adriatic to the south.

DANUBIUS, now the *Danube*, the largest river in Europe, rising in Suabia, and after a vast circuit falling into the Euxine, or the Black Sea.

DERMONA, a river of Gallia Transpadana; it runs into the Ollius (now *Oglio*), and through that channel into the Po.

DIVODURUM, a town in Gallia Belgica, situate on the Moselle, on the spot where *Metz* now stands.

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coast of Illyricum. Its port answered to that of Brundisium, affording a convenient passage to Italy.

#### E.

ELEUSIS, a district of Attica near the sea-coast, sacred to Ceres, where the Eleusinian mysteries were performed; now in ruins.

EMERITA, a city of Spain; now *Merida* in the province of *Estremadura*.

EPOREDIA, a town at the foot of the Alps, afterwards a Roman colony; now *Jurea*, or *Jura*, a city of Piedmont.

ETRURIA, a district of Italy, extending from the boundary of Liguria to the Tiber.

ÆDUI,



ÆDUI, a people of Gallia Celtica, supposed to have occupied the dukedom of Burgundy.

ÆNUS, a river rising in the country of the *Grifons*, and running thence into the Danube.

## F.

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium, in Italy; now *Ferentino*, in the Campania of Rome.

FERONIA, a town in Etruria.

FIDENÆ, a town of the Sabines, five miles to the north of Rome.

FOROJULIUM, a city of Narbon Gaul.

FORUM ALLIENI, now *Ferrare*, on the Po.

FRISII, a people of Germany, who inhabited the sea-coast between the Rhine and the Amisia (the *Ems*).

## G.

GALATIA, a country between *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*; and, because situate between Greek colonies, called *Gallogracia*.

GARAMANTES, a people in the interior part of Africa, extending over a large tract of country, at present little known.

GELDUBA, not far from Novesium (now *Nuys*, in the electorate of Cologne) on the west side of the Rhine.

GEMONIÆ, a place at Rome, into which were thrown the bodies of malefactors.

GERMANIA, Ancient Germany, bounded on the east by the Vistula (the *Weissel*), on the north by the Ocean, on the west by the Rhine, and on the south by the Danube. A great part of Gaul, along the west side of the Rhine, was also called Germany by Augustus Cæsar, *Germania Cisrhenana*, and by him distinguished into *Upper* and *Lower Germany*.

GRAIAN ALPS, Graiæ Alps, supposed to be so called from the Greeks who settled there. See ALPES.

GRINNES, a town of the Batavi, on the right side of the Vahalîs (now the *Waal*), in the territory of Utrecht.

GUGERNI, a people originally from Germany, inhabiting part of the duchy of Cleves and Gueldre, between the Rhine and the Meuse.

## H.

HLLVETII, a people in the neighbour-

hood of the Allobroges, situate on the south-west side of the Rhine, and separated from Gaul by the Rhodanus and Lacus Lemanus.

HÆMUS MONS, extending from Illyricum towards the Euxine.

HISPALIS, a town of Bœtica in the Farther Spain; now *Seville* in *Andalusia*.

HOSTILIA, a village on the Po; now *Ostiglia*, in the neighbourhood of Cremona.

## I.

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, situate on the Palus Mæotis.

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the south. It is now comprised by *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the respective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

INTEMELIUM. See ALBIUM INTEMELIUM

INTERAMNA, an ancient town of the Volsci in Latium, not far from the river Liris. It is now in ruins.

ISTRIA, an island in the gulf of Venice, still retaining its ancient name. There was also a town of the same name near the mouth of the Ister, on the Euxine Sea.

## L.

LACUS LEMANUS, now the *Lake of Geneva*.

LEPTIS. There were in Africa two cities of the name; *Leptis Magna*, and *Leptis Parva*. The first is now called *Lebeda*, in the territory of Tripoli; the second was on the Mediterranean, not far from Carthage.

LEUCI, a people of Gallia Belgica, to the north of the Lingones, between the Moselle and the Meuse.

LIGURIA, a country of Italy, divided into the maritime, *Ligus Ora*; and the inland, *Liguria*; both between the Apennine to the south, the Maritime Alps to the west, and the Po to the north.

LIGERIS; now the *Loire*.

LINGONES, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the country about *Langres* and *Dijon*.

LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM, a town of the Batavi; now *Leyden* in Holland. There was another town of the name in Gallia Celtica, at the confluence of the Arar (the *Soane*) and the Rhodanus (the *Rhone*). The place is now called Lyons.

LUPPIA,



LUPPIA, now the *Lippe*, in Westphalia.

## M.

MAGONTIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Mentz*, situate at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

MARCODURUM, a village of Gallia Belgica; now *Duren* on the *Roer*.

MARITIMÆ ALPES. See ALPES.

MARSACI, a people in the north of Batavia, inhabiting the sea-coast.

MARSI, a people of Italy, who dwelt round the Lacus Fucinus. Another people called Marſi, in Germany, to the south of the Frisii.

MASSILLIA, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, formerly celebrated for polished manners and learning; now *Marſeilles*, a port town of Provence.

MATTIACI, a branch of the Catti in Germany. Their town *Mattiacum*, now *Marpurg* in Hesse.

MAURITANIA, a large region of Africa, extending from east to west along the Mediterranean, divided by the emperor Claudius into *Cæsariensis*, the eastern part, and *Tingitana*, the western, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean to the north.

MÆSIA, now *Bulgaria* and part of *Serbia*.

MEDIOLANUM, now *Milan* in Italy.

MEDIOMATRICI, a people of Gallia Belgica; now the diocese of *Metz*.

MEMPHIS, a city of Ægypt, famous for its pyramids.

MENAPII, a people of Belgia; now *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

MEVANIA, a town of Umbria, near the Clitumnus, a river that runs from east to west into the Tiber.

MINTURNÆ, a town on the confines of Campania, near the river Liris.

MILVIUS PONS, a bridge over the Tiber, two miles distant from Rome, on the *Via Flaminia*; now called *Ponte Molle*.

MISENUM, a promontory of Campania, with a good harbour.

MONÆCI PORTUS, now *Monaco*, a port town in the territory of *Genoa*.

MORINI, a people of Belgia, inhabiting the diocese of *Tournay*, and the country about *St. Omer* and *Boulogne*.

MUTINA, now *Modena*, a city of Lombardy, in Italy.

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## N.

NABALIA, the name of the channel made by Drusus from the Rhine to the river Sala; now the *Nfell*. See Annals, ii. f. 8.

NARBONENSIS GALLIA, the southern part of Gaul, bounded by the Alps, the Mediterranean, and the Pyrenees.

NARNIA, a town of Umbria, on the river *Nar*; now *Narni*, in the territory of the Pope.

NAVA, a river of Gallia Belgica, which runs north-east into the west side of the Rhine; now the *Nabe*.

NORICUM, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the Alpes Noricæ on the south, by Pannonia on the east, and Viindelicia towards the west. It now includes a great part of Austria, Bavaria, &c.

NAVARIA, now *Novara*, a city of Milan.

NOVESIUM, a town of the Ubii in Gallia Belgica; now *Nuys*, on the west side of the Rhine, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

## O.

OCRICULUM, a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and the Tiber; now *Otricoli*, in the duchy of *Spoletto*.

OEENSES, a people of Africa, who occupied the country between the two Syrtes on the Mediterranean. Their city was called *Oea*, now *Tripoli*.

OPITERGIUM, now *Oderzo*, in the territory of Venice.

OSRIA, formerly a town of note, at the mouth of the Tiber, whence its name; at this day it lies in ruins.

## P.

PADUS, anciently called *Eridanus* by the Greeks, famous for the fable of Phaeton; it receives several rivers from the Alps and Apennine, and, running from west to east, discharges itself into the Adriatic. It is now called the Po.

PAMPHYLIA, a country of the Hither Asia, bordering on the Mediterranean.

PANNONIA, an extensive country of Europe, bounded by Dalmatia on the south, by the Danube on the north, by Noricum on the west, and Mæſia on the east.

PANNONIAN ALPS. See ALPES.

PAPHOS, a town on the sea-side in the isle of Cyprus, where stood a temple dedicated



dedicated to Venus, thence called the *Paphian Goddess*.

PATAVIUM, now *Padua*, in the territory of Venice.

PELIGNI, a people of Samaium, near Naples.

PETOVIO, a town of Pannonia, near the Alps.

PENNINÆ ALPES. See ALPES.

PERUSIA, a city of Etruria, where Lucius Antonius was besieged, and reduced by famine to surrender to Augustus Cæsar. *Perusina famēs*, Lucan. It is now called *Perugia*, in the territory of the Pope.

PHARSALIA, a town in Thessaly, rendered famous by the last battle between Pompey and Julius Cæsar.

PHILIPPI, a town of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace, built by Philip of Macedon, and famous for the battle fought between Augustus and the republican party.

PICENTIA, the capital of the *Picentini* on the Tuscan Sea, not far from Naples.

PICENUM, a territory of Italy, between the *Apennine* and the *Adriatic*.

PISÆ, a town of Etruria, which gave name to the bay of Pisa, *Sinus Pisanus*.

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy, now called *Placenza*, in the duchy of Parma.

PONTUS, an extensive country of the Hither Asia, taking its name from *Pontus Euxinus*, and rendered famous by *Mithridates*, and his wars with the Romans.

PUTEOLI, a town of Campania, so called from its number of wells; now *Pozzuolo*, a few miles to the west of Naples.

## R.

RAVENNA, a city of *Gallia Cisalpina*, with a port on the *Adriatic*; a station for the Roman fleet in the time of Augustus. It is still called *Ravenna*.

REGIUM, now *Reggio*, a city in Calabria.

REMI, now *Reims*, in Champagne.

RHACOTIS, the ancient name of Alexandria in Ægypt.

RHÆTIA, a country bordering on the Vindelici, at the foot of the Rhætian Alps.

RHODUS, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean.

RHOXOLANI, a people on the north of the *Palus Maotis*, situate along the Tanais, now the *Don*.

RIGODULUM, a town of the Treviri on the Moselle.

## S.

SAMNIS, or SAMNITES, a people extending on both sides of the *Apennine*, famous in the Roman wars.

SARMATIA, called also *Scythia*, and divided into *Europæa* and *Asiatica*; the former beginning at the *Vistula* (its western boundary), and the latter bounded on the west by *Sarmatia Europæa* and the *Tanais* (the *Don*), extending south as far as Mount *Caucasus*, and the *Caspian Sea*.

SARDINIA, an island in the Mediterranean, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king.

SAXA RUBRA, a place on the *Flamminian* road in Etruria, nine miles from Rome.

SELEUCIA, a city of Mesopotamia.

SENENSIS COLONIA, now *Sienna*, in Tuscany.

SEQUANI, a people of Celtic Gaul, who inhabited what is now called *Franche Comté*.

SINOPE, one of the most famous cities in the territory of Pontus. It was taken by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and afterwards received Roman colonies. It was the birth-place of Diogenes, the cynic, who was banished from his country. The place is still called *Sinope*, a port town of Asiatic Turkey, on the Euxine.

SINUESSA, a town of Latium, on the confines of Campania, beyond the river *Liris* (now called *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the salubrity of its waters.

STÆCHADES, five islands, now called the *Hieres*, on the coast of Provence.

SUNICI, a people removed from Germany to Gallia Belgica. According to Cluverius, they inhabited the duchy of *Limburg*.

SUEVI, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, who occupied a vast tract of country. See the Manners of the Germans, s. xxxviii. note (a).

SYRIA, a country of the Hither Asia, between the Mediterranean and the *Euphrates*. Palestine was deemed part of Syria.

## T.

TARRACINA, a city of the Volsci in Latium, near the mouth of the *Ufens*, in the Campania of Rome. Now *Terracina*, on the Tuscan Sea.

TARENTUM, now *Taranto*, in the province of *Otranto*. The Lacedæmonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*.

TARTARUS,



TARTARUS, a river running between the Po and the Athesis (the *Adige*) from west to east, into the Adriatic; now *Tartaro*.

TAURINI, a people dwelling at the foot of the Alps. Their capital was called, after Augustus Cæsar, who planted a colony there, *Augusta Taurinorum*. The modern name is *Turin*, the capital of Piedmont.

TENCTERI, a people of Germany. See the Manners of the Germans, f. xxxii.

TICINUM, now *Pavia* in Milan.

TICINUS, a river that falls into the Po, near *Ticinum*; now *Tesino*.

TOLBIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Zulpich*, or *Zulch*, a small town in the duchy of Juliers.

TRAPEZUS, now *Trapezond* or *Trebizond*, a city with a port in the Lesser Asia, on the Euxine.

THRACIA, an extensive region, bounded on the north by Mount Hæmus, on the south by the Ægean Sea, and by the Euxine to the east. In the time of Tiberius it was an independent kingdom, but afterwards a Roman province.

TRIBOCI, a people of Belgica, originally Germans. They inhabited *Alsace*, and the diocese of *Strasbourg*.

TREVIRI, a people of Gaul, between the Meuse and the Rhine. Their capital *Augusta Trevirorum*; now *Triers*, or *Treves*, on the Moselle.

TUNGRI, a people of Belgia. Their city, according to Cæsar, *Atuaca*; now *Tongerren*, in the bishopric of Liege.

## U.

UBII, a people originally from Germany. Their capital, on the west side of the Rhine, was called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, till changed by Agrippina, the mother of Nero, to *Colonia Agrippinensis*. It is now *Cologne*, the capital of the electorate of that name.

UMBRIA, a division of Italy, to the south-east of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

URBINUM, now *Urbino*, a city for ever famous for having given birth to Raphael, the celebrated painter.

USIPPI, a people of Germany, who, being driven out by the Catti, settled near the isle of Batavia. See the Manners of the Germans, f. xxxii.

## V.

VADA, a town on the left-hand side of the Nile, in the island of Batavia.

VANGIONES, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards settled in Gaul; now the diocese of *Worms*.

VASCONES, a people who inhabited near the Pyrenees, occupying lands both in Spain and Gaul.

VELABRUM, a place at Rome between Mount Aventine and Mount Palatine, generally under water, from the overflowing of the Tiber. Propertius describes it elegantly, lib. iv. eleg. x.

Quà velabra suo stagnabant flumine, quaque Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.

VERCELLÆ, now *Vercelli* in Piedmont.

VERONA, now *Verona*, in the territory of Venice, on the *Adige*.

VETERA CASTRA, the old camp, which was a fortified station for the Roman legions; now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves, not far from the Rhine.

VIA SALARIA, a road leading from the salt works at Ostia to the country of the Sabines.

VICETIA, now *Vicenza*, a town in the territory of Venice.

VIENNA, now *Vienne*, in Dauphiné.

VINDONISSA, now *Windisch*, in the Canton of Bern in Switzerland.

VOCETIUS MONS, a mountain of the Helvetii, thought to be the roughest part of Mount *Jura*, to which the Helvetii fled, when defeated by Cæcina. See Hist. i. f. 67.